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**HENRY COLBURN AND RICHARD BENTLEY,**  
**NEW BURLINGTON STREET.**

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**1831.**

Isabel, vi

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THE LIFE  
OF  
NAPOLEON BONAPARTE,

BY M. DE BOURRIENNE,  
<sup>IN</sup>  
HIS PRIVATE SECRETARY.

WITH NOTES, NOW FIRST ADDED, FROM  
THE DICTATION OF NAPOLEON, AT ST. HELENA, FROM THE  
MEMOIRS OF THE DUKE OF ROVIGO, OF GENERAL  
RAPP, OF CONSTANT, AND NUMEROUS  
OTHER AUTHENTIC SOURCES.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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# MEMOIRS

OF

## NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE.

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### CHAPTER I.

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I HAVE been somewhat diffuse respecting the vast enterprises of M. Ouvrard, and on the disastrous state of the finances, during the campaign of Vienna. Now, if I may so express myself, I shall return to the minister plenipotentiary's cabinet, where several curious transactions occurred. The facts will not always be given in a connected series, because there was no more relation between the reports, which I received on a great variety of subjects, than there are in the pleadings of the barristers who succeed each other in a court of justice.

On the 2d of January, 1806, I learned that many houses in Hamburg had received, by post, packets, each containing four copies of a declaration of Louis XVIII. Dumouriez had his carriage filled with copies of this declaration, when he passed through Brunswick; and, in that small town alone, more than three thousand were distributed. The size of this declaration rendered its transmission by post very easy, even in France.

All my letters from the minister recommended that I should keep a strict watch over the motions of Dumouriez; but his name was now as seldom mentioned as if he had ceased to exist. The part he acted seemed to be limited to disseminating pamphlets, more or less insignificant.

At the end of 1805, Germany, and especially the Hanseatic territories, had been inundated by pamphlets. At that period, and before the declaration of Louis XVIII., a scurrilous libel made its appearance against the emperor, entitled, "*Bonaparte, der du bist im Himmel, geheiligt werde dein Nahm.—Rom, in der pabstlichen Buchdruckery.*"\*

On my requisition, the senate issued the strictest orders to prevent the circulation of this infamous pamphlet; the expressions of which could not be repeated here with propriety. I did not, however, succeed in discovering the author of this production. Fauche-Borel was the printer of most of the libels which appeared at Berlin against France; and I had positive orders to insist that the senate should cause him to be arrested, if he appeared in Hamburg. Fauche-Borel was described as a restless agitator, continually intriguing against the French government, under the pretence of serving the Bourbons; and his intrigues were so much the more dangerous, that he could not be laid hold of. The description was not incorrect. About this time the minister of police informed me, that a man named Dranob had offered to make important discoveries; and desired me to obtain some information respecting this individual. It was ten weeks before I could reply; time being required to unravel the intrigue to which Fouché's despatches referred. At length, on the 25th of February, 1806, I was enabled to furnish the following details respecting Lesimple and Dranob, who had entered into a plot for the assassination of the emperor. I recommend the history of these two men to the attention of my readers, be-

\* Bonaparte, thou who art in Heaven, hallowed be thy Name.—Papal Printing-press, Rome.

cause I believe that there are not many examples of such daring and adroit villains.

The name Dranob is the anagram of Bonard, this fellow's real name; he also called himself Randob, and Bardon. Knowing, probably, that I would cause a search to be made after him, he presented himself before me, in order to denounce his accomplice, Lesimple. This Bonard was known in England by the name of Leclerc; at Hamburg he bore that of Delon. He had escaped from the Conciergerie, in the disguise of a female, in 1797 or 1798, and described himself to me as a retired officer of artillery.

He arrived in Hamburg at the commencement of 1805, in order to fulfil the engagements which, he said, he had contracted with the British government, in concert with Lesimple. Bonard, however, believed that it would be more advantageous and safer to denounce his accomplice, than to share with him the risk of detection. He gave me at first several papers, which he had long concealed. Those papers, beautifully written, and rolled up with great care, were enclosed in a finely-made tin case, about six inches in length. He had hid this case about him in a way which rendered its discovery almost impossible. It contained, also, a small file, of finely-tempered steel, which cut iron with the same facility as a knife does paper. Similar contrivances have been discovered by the police of Paris on malefactors. All the papers given me by Bonard were in the handwriting of Lesimple, and they proved the criminality of his projects. They contained extracts from the correspondence between himself and Lesimple. To crown the compact formed by these two villains, they came to blows. Bonard related to me, that having quarrelled with Lesimple, while they were about to embark at Harwich, they fought in the churchyard with the knives they had used at the inn. On relating to me this horrible scene, Bonard suddenly opened his clothes, and showed me a large wound on his right side, not fully healed. I was seized with horror. Let any one imagine a man of uncommon strength, more vigorous, indeed, than any man I ever saw; five feet seven inches in height, French measure, displaying his wound, while confiding to me the diabolical project, which he had renounced, not from repentance, but because he conceived that the discovery of the plot would be more profitable than its accomplishment; and reading to me papers which he had concealed in so incredible a manner—my situation may then be conceived.

At the time when Bonard denounced Lesimple to me, the latter was about to depart for Holland. Assured by Bonard, however, that Lesimple would very soon return to Hamburg, I took every imaginable precaution to have him arrested on his arrival. His absence was so long protracted, that I became very anxious respecting his return, when I learned, that on crossing through the combined British and Russian armies, he had been arrested on suspicion of being a spy. At length, on the evening of the 17th of February, Lesimple arrived at Hamburg; he was arrested on the 19th, under the name of Dresch, which he bore during his journeyings. All his papers, none of which he had time to secrete, were put under seals. I myself interrogated him, and his answers confirmed the correctness of the details that had been given to me by Bonard. In Lesimple's pocket-book were found, among other papers, three passports which he had made use of during his route, and which he had himself fabricated. There were also found upon him several rouleaus, ticketed fifty louis, carefully sealed, but which were only filled with copper, and a purse, with counters of the same metal; which last were employed by him to defraud the gambling banks. He was at once sharper, spy, forger, and assassin.

I had promised to Bonard—Dranob—Leclerc—Delon, or whatever he may be called, to send him, but not as a prisoner, to Paris, in order that he might personally reply to the minister of police. But such men seldom can refrain for a single day from the commission of some crime. Bonard, accused of being an accomplice in several thefts committed in Hamburg, was summoned before the head of the police, and as he had good cause for declining that invitation, he suddenly disappeared, but was retaken some days afterwards at Hameln, and conducted under an efficient escort to Paris.

It is difficult to conceive the great courage and presence of mind sometimes found in men so degraded as are the wretches who fill the office of spies. I had an agent amongst the Swedo-Russians, named Chefneux, whom I had always found extremely clever and correct. Having for a long time, received no intelligence from him, I became very anxious; an anxiety which was not without foundation. He had, in fact, been arrested at Lauenburg, and conducted, bound, tied hand and foot, by some Cossacks to Luneburg. There was found on him a bulletin, which he was about to transmit to me, and he only escaped certain death by having in his possession a letter of recommendation from a Hamburg merchant, well known to



M. Alopœus, the Russian minister in that city. This precaution, which I had taken before he set out, saved his life. M. Alopœus replied to the merchant, that in consequence of his recommendation, the spy should be sent back safe and sound; but that another time, neither the recommended nor the recommender should escape so easily. Notwithstanding this, Chefneux would certainly have paid with his head for the dangerous business in which he was embarked, but for the inconceivable coolness he displayed under the most trying circumstances. Though the bulletin which was found upon him was addressed to M. Schramm, merchant, they strongly suspected that it was intended for me. They demanded of the prisoner whether he knew me; to which he boldly replied, that he had never seen me. They endeavoured, by every possible means, to extort a confession from him, but without success. His repeated denials, joined to the name of M. Schramm, created doubts in the mind of his interrogators; they hesitated lest they should condemn an innocent man. They, however, resolved to make a last effort to discover the truth, and Chefneux, condemned to be shot, was conducted to the plain of Luneburg. His eyes were bandaged, and he heard the command of preparation given to the platoon, which was to fire upon him; at that moment a man approaching him, whispered in his ear, in a tone of friendship and compassion, "They are going to fire; but I am your friend; only acknowledge that you know M. de Bourrienne, and you are safe."—"No," replied Chefneux, in a firm tone; "if I said so, I should tell a falsehood." Immediately the bandage was removed from his eyes, and he was set at liberty. It would be difficult to cite a more extraordinary instance of presence of mind.

On the 17th of March, 1806, Fouché wrote to me to keep a strict eye on M. de la Ferronays. He was represented to me as a very dangerous and enterprising man, wholly devoted to the Bourbons. Chefneux, the agent of whom I have just spoken, had gone to Paris, and presented himself to the minister of police, to whom I spoke highly of his address and ability. He was sent from Paris to Brunswick, where M. de la Ferronays resided, with orders to watch all his motions, and daily to transmit an account of them to me. This spy very soon insinuated himself into the company of M. de la Ferronays and his friends. I transmitted to government all the information I received from him, and paid him a salary of five hundred francs a month. Chefneux wrote directly to the minister of police, informing him that M. de la Ferronays was about to repair to

England, and would pass through Hamburg; and I received immediate orders to arrest him on his journey, and cause him to be conducted to France. Had this order been executed, his ruin would have followed. But M. de la Ferronays had taken many precautions; he travelled under an assumed name, and in the character of secretary to Lord Kinnaird, having obtained his lordship's permission to that effect; in short, he passed very rapidly through Hamburg, and repaired without delay to Altona. M. de la Ferronays was spoken of so very highly by several of the emigrants resident in Hamburg, as to create in my mind much interest in his fate, and I rejoiced on learning that he had escaped the police, and found shelter in Altona; but he was guilty of one act of imprudence, which had nearly proved his ruin, and compromised myself. One day, when I was at the theatre, the police pretor, whom I had furnished with a description of M. de la Ferronays, telling him to inform me, should he make his appearance, approached, and pointed out to my notice a young man in the orchestra, wearing powder, whom I was at no loss to recognise as the individual described by Chefneux. Though extremely anxious to save him, how could I accomplish my purpose after this imprudent step? However, I told the pretor that the better to succeed in securing him, and without alarming the audience, I must first employ some precautions, and that he might await my return. I accordingly stepped into the lobby, and sent a person on whom I could rely, to warn M. de la Ferronays to leave the theatre with the utmost speed. On returning to my box, I saw him receive the intimation, and I then told the pretor to do his duty. He went to give the necessary orders, but, almost before closing the box-door, M. de la Ferronays was on the road to Altona.

Much as I execrate the system of espionage, I am, nevertheless, compelled to admit that the emperor was under the necessity of maintaining the most unremitting vigilance amidst the intrigues which were going forward in the neighbourhood of Hamburg, especially when the English, Swedes, and Russians, were still in arms, and there were the strongest grounds for suspecting the sincerity of Prussia.

On the 5th of January, 1806, the King of Sweden arrived before the gates of Hamburg. The senate of that city, surrounded on all sides by English, Swedish, and Russian troops, determined to send a deputation to congratulate the Swedish monarch, who, however, hesitated so long about receiving this homage, that fears were entertained lest his

refusal should be followed by some act of aggression. At length, however, the deputies were admitted, and they returned sufficiently well satisfied with their reception.

The King of Sweden then officially declared, "that all the arrangements entered into relative to Hanover had no reference to him, as the Swedish army was under the immediate command of its august sovereign."\*

The king, with his six thousand men, seemed inclined to play the part of the restorer of Germany, and to make himself the Don Quixote of the treaty of Westphalia. He threatened the senate of Hamburg with the whole weight of his anger, because, on my application, the colours which used to be suspended over the door of the house for receiving Austrian recruits had been renewed. The poor senate of Hamburg was kept in constant alarm by so dangerous a neighbour.

The King of Sweden had his head-quarters at Boetzenburg, on the northern bank of the Elbe. In order to amuse himself, he sent for Doctor Gall, who was at Hamburg, where he delivered lectures on his system, rejected in the beginning by false science and prejudice, and afterwards adopted in consequence of arguments, in my opinion, unanswerable, upon the development of the cerebral organization. I had the pleasure of living some time with Doctor Gall, and I owe to the intimacy which subsisted between us, the honour he conferred on me by the dedication of one of his works. I said to him, when he departed for the head-quarters of the King of Sweden, "My dear Doctor, you will certainly discover the bump of vanity." The truth is, that had the doctor at that period been permitted to examine the heads of the sovereigns of Europe, they would have afforded very curious craniological studies.

It was not alone the King of Sweden who gave uneasiness to Hamburg; the King of Prussia threatened to seize upon that city, and his minister publicly declared that it would very soon belong to his master. The Hamburgers were deeply afflicted at this threat; in fact, next to the loss of their independence, their greatest misfortune would have been to fall under the dominion of Prussia, as the niggardly fiscal system of the Prussian government at that time would have proved extremely detrimental to a commercial city. Hanover,

\* The cession of Hanover to the King of Prussia for the two margravates is what he alluded to.

being evacuated by the French troops, had become a kind of recruiting mart for the British army, where every man who presented himself was enrolled, to complete the Hanoverian legion which was then about to be embodied. The English scattered gold in handfuls. One hundred and fifty carriages, each with six horses, were employed in this service, which confirmed me in the belief I had previously entertained, that the English were to join with the Russians in an expedition against Holland. The aim of the Anglo-Russians was to make a diversion which might disconcert the movements of the French armies in Germany; the allies being, at that time, unacquainted with the peace concluded at Presburg. Not a moment was therefore to be lost in uniting the whole of our disposable force for the defence of Holland; but it is not this expedition of which I mean to speak at this moment, I only mention it to afford some idea of our situation at Hamburg, surrounded, as we then were, by Swedish, English, and Russian troops. At this period the Russian minister at Hamburg, M. Forshmann, became completely insane; his conduct had been more injurious than advantageous to his government. He was replaced by M. Alopæus, the Russian minister at Berlin; and they could not have exchanged a fool for a more judicious and able diplomatist.

I often received from the minister of marine letters and packets to transmit to the Isle of France, of which the emperor was extremely anxious to retain possession; and I had much trouble in finding any vessels prepared for that colony, by which I could forward the minister's communications. The death of Pitt, and the appointment of Fox as his successor, had created a hope of peace. It was universally known that Mr. Fox, in succeeding to his office, did not inherit the furious hatred of the deceased minister against France and her emperor. There besides existed between Napoleon and Mr. Fox a reciprocal esteem, and the latter had shown himself really disposed to treat. The possibility of concluding a peace had always been maintained by that statesman, when he was in opposition to Mr. Pitt; and Bonaparte himself might have been induced, from the high esteem he felt for Mr. Fox, to make concessions, from which he would before have recoiled. But two obstacles, I may say almost insurmountable, opposed themselves to it. The first was the conviction, on the part of England, that any peace which might be made would only be a truce, and

that Bonaparte would never seriously relinquish his desire of universal dominion. On the other side, it was believed that Napoleon had formed the design of invading England. Had he been able to do so, it would have been less with the view of striking a blow at her commerce, and destroying her maritime power, than of annihilating the liberty of the press, which he had extinguished in his own dominions. The spectacle of a free people, separated only by six leagues of sea, was, according to him, a seductive example to the French, especially to those of them who bent unwillingly under his yoke.

At an early period of Mr. Fox's ministry, a Frenchman made the proposition to him of assassinating the emperor, of which information was immediately transmitted to M. de Talleyrand. In this despatch the minister said, that though the laws of England did not authorize the permanent detention of any individual not convicted of a crime, he had on this occasion taken it on himself to secure the miscreant, till such time as the French government could be put on its guard against his attempts. Mr. Fox said in his letter, that he had at first done this individual "the honour to take him for a spy," a phrase which sufficiently indicated the disgust with which the British minister viewed him. This information was the key which opened the door to new negotiations. M. de Talleyrand was ordered to express, in reply to the communication of Mr. Fox, that the emperor was sensibly affected at the index it afforded of the principles by which the British cabinet was actuated. Napoleon limited not himself to this diplomatic courtesy; he deemed it a favourable occasion to create a belief that he was actuated by a sincere love of peace. He summoned to Paris Lord Yarmouth, one of the most distinguished amongst the English who had been so unjustly detained prisoners at Verdun, on the rupture of the peace of Amiens. He gave it in charge to his lordship to propose to the British government to enter into negotiations, offering to guarantee to England the Cape of Good Hope and Malta. Some have been inclined, from this concession, to praise the moderation of Bonaparte; others to blame him for offering to resign those two places, as if the Cape and Malta could be put in competition with the title of emperor, the foundation of the kingdom of Italy, the acquisition of Genoa, and of all the Venetian states, the dethronement of the King of Naples, and the gift of his kingdom to Joseph, and finally, the new division of Germany. These transactions, of which Bonaparte said not a

word, and from which he certainly had no intention to depart, were all posterior to the treaty of Amiens.

Every day brought with it fresh proofs of his insatiable ambition. In fact, Napoleon longed to obtain possession of the Hanse Towns. I was, however, in the first place, merely charged to make overtures to the senates of each of those three towns, and to point out the advantages they would derive from the protection of Napoleon, in exchange for the small sacrifice of six millions in his favour. I had on this subject numerous conferences with the magistrates; they thought the sum too great, representing to me that the city was not so rich as formerly, because their commerce had been much curtailed by the war; in short, the senate declared that, with the utmost good will, their circumstances would not permit them to accept the "generous proposal" of the emperor.

I was myself, indeed, at a loss to conceive how the absurdity of employing me to make such a proposition was overlooked, for I had really no advantage to offer, in return, to the Hanse Towns. Against whom did Bonaparte propose to protect them? The truth is, Napoleon then wished to seize those towns by direct aggression, which, however, he was not able to accomplish until four years afterwards.

During five years I witnessed the commercial importance of those cities, and especially of Hamburg. Its geographical situation, on a great river, navigable by large vessels to the city, thirty leagues from the mouth of the Elbe; the complete independence it enjoyed; its municipal regulations and paternal government, were a few amongst the many causes which had raised Hamburg to the height of prosperity it had attained. What, in fact, was the amount of the population of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck, those remnants of the grand Hanseatic league of the middle ages? The population of Hamburg, when I was there, amounted to ninety thousand, and that of its small surrounding territory to twenty-five thousand. Bremen had thirty-six thousand inhabitants, and nine thousand in its territory; the city of Lubeck, which is smaller, and its territory a little more extensive than that of Bremen, contained a population of twenty-four thousand souls within, and sixteen thousand without the walls. Thus the total population of the Hanse Towns amounted to only two hundred thousand individuals; and yet this handful of men carried on an extensive commerce, and their ships ploughed every sea from the shores of India to the frozen regions of Greenland.

The emperor arrived at Paris towards the end of January,

1806. Having created kings in Germany, he deemed the moment favourable for surrounding his throne with new princes. It was at this period that he created Murat Grand Duke of Cleves and Berg; Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte-Corvo; M. de Talleyrand, Duke of Benevento; and his two former colleagues, Cambacérès and Lebrun, Dukes of Parma and Placenza. He also gave to his sister Pauline, a short time after her second marriage with the Prince Borghese, the title of Duchess of Guastalla. Strange events! who could then have foreseen, that the duchy of Cambacérès would become the refuge of a princess of Austria, the widowed wife of Napoleon Bonaparte?

In the midst of the imperial family, when the eldest of the emperor's brothers had ascended the throne of Naples, when Holland was on the eve of being offered to Louis, and Jerome had exchanged his legitimate wife for the illegitimate throne of Westphalia, the imperial pillow was still far from being free of anxiety. Hostilities did not actually exist with the continental powers; they only observed without acting; but this momentary state of repose resembled in nothing the tranquillity of peace. France was at war with Russia and England, and the aspect of the continent presented great uncertainty. Russia armed in silence, and the treaty of Vienna had only in part been executed. In the mean time, Napoleon turned his eyes towards the east. General Sebastiani was sent to Constantinople. The measures he pursued, and his judicious conduct, justified the choice of the emperor. He was adroit and conciliating, and peace with Turkey was the result of his mission. The negotiations with England did not terminate so happily, although, after the first overtures made to Lord Yarmouth, the Earl of Lauderdale had been sent to Paris, by Mr. Fox. In fact, these negotiations wholly failed.\*

The affairs of the Bourbon princes became more and more

\* "Mr. Fox, the English minister, had been ill for a considerable time. His illness suddenly assumed a serious character, and he was soon pronounced to be in danger.

"We relied wholly on him for terminating our eternal differences with England; and at every fresh report of the state of his health, the negotiations were urged forward, because it was hoped that if peace were once concluded, some means might be found of rendering it permanent even in the event of Mr. Fox's death.

"But fate had decided otherwise. The English minister died, and his successor recalled Lord Lauderdale: the conferences were then broken off. We tacitly accused Lord Lauderdale of not having been as zealous as we were in smoothing away the difficulties which opposed the conclusion of peace: and it was even suspected that when Mr. Fox's recovery

unfavourable, and their finances, as well as their chances of success, were so much diminished, that about this period it was notified to the emigrants in Brunswick that the pretender had no longer the means of continuing their pensions. This produced great consternation amongst those emigrants, many of whom had no other means of existence; and notwithstanding their devotion to the cause of royalty, they found a pension very useful in strengthening their zeal.

Amongst those emigrants was one whose name will occupy a certain place in history, I mean Dumouriez, of whom I have already spoken, and who had for some time employed himself in distributing pamphlets. He was then at Stralsund; and it was believed that the King of Sweden would confer upon him a command. The vagrant life of this general, who ran every where, begging employment from the enemies of his country without being able to obtain it, subjected him to general ridicule; in fact, he was every where despised.

To determine the difficulties which had arisen with regard to Holland, which Dumouriez dreamed of conquering with an imaginary army, and discontented besides with the Dutch, for not rigorously excluding English vessels from their ports, the emperor constituted the Batavian territory a kingdom under his brother Louis. When I notified to the states of the circle of Lower Saxony, the accession of Louis Bonaparte to the throne of Holland, and the nomination of Cardinal Fesch as coadjutor and successor of the arch-chancellor of the Germanic empire, along with their official communications, the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin was the only member of the circle who forbore to reply, and I understood he had applied to the court of Russia to know "whether," and "how," he should reply.

was found to be impossible, he had studied only the sentiments of the minister who was destined to succeed him.

"This opinion was founded on the circumstance of Lord Yarmouth having carried on the negotiation until the month of August, the period at which Lord Lauderdale was sent to Paris. The latter was supposed to be favourable to the Grenville party, and opposed to Mr. Fox, who, being attacked with the disorder of which he died in the middle of the following month, had but little influence in the choice of the negotiator, or on the management of the negotiations.

"We suspected that Lord Lauderdale was sent only for the purpose of embarrassing and breaking off the negotiations, for he had no sooner arrived, than he refused to acknowledge the basis on which Lord Yarmouth had negotiated. From that moment all appeared to be at an end; though he did not quit Paris until after the emperor had set out to join the army, doubtless for the purpose of strengthening the opinion that the rupture had originated with France."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo*, vol. i. part II. page 172. (E. Ed.)



At the same time he made known to the emperor the marriage of his daughter, the Princess Charlotte Frederica, with Prince Christian Frederick of Denmark.

It would, at this period, have been difficult to foresee the way in which this union would terminate. The prince was young and handsome, and possessed an amiable disposition, which seemed to indicate that he would prove a good husband. As to the princess, she was what a poet might have called simple, and beautiful as the blushing morn; but she was heedless and giddy; in fact, she was a spoiled child. She adored her husband, and during several years their union proved happy. I had the honour of knowing them at the period when the Duke of Mecklenburg, with his family, sought refuge at Altona. Before leaving that town, the Duchess of Mecklenburg, a princess of Saxony, paid a visit to Madame de Bourrienne, and loaded her with civilities. This princess was perfectly amiable, and was therefore generally regretted, when, two years afterwards, death snatched her from her family. Before leaving Altona, the Duke of Mecklenburg gave some parties by way of bidding adieu to Holstein, where he had been so kindly received; and I can never forget the distinguished reception, and many kindnesses, Madame de Bourrienne and myself received from that illustrious family. It consisted of the hereditary prince, so celebrated for his talents and acquirements, (he was at that time the widower) of a grand duchess of Russia, sister of the Emperor Alexander, of Prince Gustavus, so amiable and graceful, and also of Princess Charlotte, and her husband, the Prince Royal of Denmark.

This happy couple were far from foreseeing that in two years they would be separated for ever. The princess was, at this period, in all the splendour of her beauty; several fêtes were given on her account on the banks of the Elbe, at which the prince always opened the ball with Madame de Bourrienne. Notwithstanding her amiability, the Princess Charlotte was no favourite at the Danish court. Intrigues were formed against her. I know not whether any foundation existed for the calumnies spread to her disadvantage, but the court dames accused her of great levity of conduct, which, true or false, obliged her husband to separate from her; and at the commencement of 1809, he sent her to Altona, attended by a chamberlain and a maid of honour. On her arrival she was in despair; hers was not a silent grief, for she related her story to every one. This unfortunate woman really attracted pity, as she shed tears for her son, three years of age, whom she was

doomed never again to behold. But her natural levity returned ; she did not always maintain the reserve suitable to her rank, and some months afterwards was sent into Jutland, where I believe she still lives.

Count de Paoli-Chagny edited in the north a journal, entitled, "*Annales Politiques du XIXe Siècle.*" During the administration of Mr. Pitt, a pension of five hundred pounds sterling a year was granted to the editor of the *Annales* ; but, on Mr. Fox coming into office, Paoli was informed that this pension would not only cease from the first of July, 1806, but, that, in future, no connection whatever would be maintained with his journal. Paoli complained of the British minister, alleging, that by his agreement with Mr. Pitt, he was to receive the sum of five hundred pounds yearly, as long as he chose to conduct his journal. But his complaint was futile, and this intriguer, not possessing the means of continuing his diatribes, was reduced to silence.

The enemies of the French government did not confine themselves to writing and publishing invectives against it. More than one wretch was ready to employ daggers against the emperor. Among this number was a man named Louis Loizeau, recently arrived from London. He repaired to Altona, there to enjoy the singular privilege which that city afforded, of sheltering all the ruffians, thieves, and bankrupts, who fled from the justice of their own governments. On the 17th of July, Loizeau presented himself to Count de Gimel, who resided at Altona, as the agent of Count de Lille. He offered to repair to Paris and assassinate the emperor. Count de Gimel rejected the proposal with indignation ; and replied, that if he had no other means of serving the Bourbons than cowardly assassination, he might go elsewhere and find confederates. This fact, which was communicated to me by a friend of M. de Gimel, determined me to arrest Loizeau. Not being warranted, however, to take this step in Altona, I employed a trusty agent to keep watch, and draw him into a quarrel the moment he should appear on the Hamburg side of a public walk, which divides that city from Altona, and deliver him up to the nearest Hamburg guard-house. Loizeau fell into the snare ; but finding that he was about to be conducted from the guard-house to the prison of Hamburg, and that it was at my request he had been arrested, he hastily unloosed his cravat, and tore with his teeth the papers it contained, part of which he swallowed. He also endeavoured to tear some other papers which were concealed under his arm, but was prevented by the

guard: furious at this disappointment, he violently resisted the five soldiers who had him in custody, and was not secured until he had been slightly wounded. His first exclamation on entering prison was, "I am undone!" Loizeau was removed to Paris, and though I am ignorant of the ultimate fate of this wretch, I am pretty certain that Fouché would take effectual means to prevent him from doing any further mischief.

About the time I caused Loizeau to be conducted to Paris, I received an order to watch and even to arrest one Martelly, accused of being the author of a libel against the emperor and the French generals. He was also charged with having contributed to the surrender of Toulon to the British navy. I sent for Martelly, and partly informed him of the accusation against him. He affirmed in reply, that he had never been in Toulon, having emigrated to Marseilles, and that his brother, then in Portugal, was the author of the libel. After a strict examination, I found that he had long resided in London; he appeared very intelligent, and I made him comprehend how much he might serve France by again visiting England. After having satisfied myself, as far as it is possible in such cases, of his honesty, I sent him to London, instructing him in the part he was to act in that city. Before setting out, Martelly told me not to be astonished at any articles in the English journals, either for or against him, as they would all tend to the object of his mission. He also pointed out the importance of watching at Paris an Abbé Lajarre, employed in the foreign department. This Lajarre, a former lover of the Countess Saint Martin, who afterwards became the mistress of Dumouriez, corresponded with her, and it was through him that every thing which passed in France became known in England. Martelly requested that nothing should be publicly done against Lajarre before his return from London. The person with whom Martelly was connected in the British capital, and from whom he received his information, was the Chevalier Dublin, aide-de-camp to Dumouriez, and who, tired of the life he led, wished ardently to reconcile himself with his country, and to return thither. It was to him that Martelly meant to present himself. At the moment of his departure for Husum, Martelly received a letter from the Chevalier Dublin, which he read to me, and from which it appeared that Dumouriez was on his way to the continent, and that great preparations were making for an expedition either against Holland or Hanover, but most probably against the latter country.

## CHAPTER II.

**Menaces of Prussia—Offer for restoring Hanover to England—Insolent ultimatum—Commencement of hostilities between France and Prussia—Battle of Auerstaedt—Death of the Duke of Brunswick—Bernadotte in Hamburg—Davoust and Bernadotte—The Swedes at Lubeck—Major Amiel—Service rendered to the English minister at Hamburg—My appointment of minister for the King of Naples—New regulation of the German post-offices—The confederation of the north—Devices of the Hanse Towns—Occupation of Hamburg in the name of the emperor—Decree of Berlin—The military governors of Hamburg—Brune, Michaud, Bernadotte, and Ponte-Corvo.**

THE moment now approached when war was about to be renewed in Germany, and in proportion as the hopes of peace diminished, Prussia redoubled her threats, which were inspired by the recollection of the deeds of the great Frederick. The idea of peace was hateful to Prussia. Her measures, which till now had been sufficiently moderate, suddenly assumed a menacing aspect, on learning that the minister of the King of England had declared in parliament that France had consented to the restitution of Hanover. The French ministry intimated to the Prussian government that this was a preliminary step towards a general peace, and that a large indemnity would be granted in return. But the King of Prussia, who was well informed, and convinced that the house of Hanover clung to this ancient domain, which gave to England a certain preponderance in Germany, considered himself sported with, and determined on war.

Under these circumstances, Lord Lauderdale was recalled from Paris by his government. War continued with England, and was about to commence with Prussia. The cabinet of Berlin sent an ultimatum which could scarcely be regarded in any other light than a defiance, and from the well-known character of Napoleon, we may judge of his irritation at this

ultimatum. The emperor, after a stay of eight months in Paris, passed in abortive negotiations for peace, set out on the 25th of September for the Rhine.

Hostilities commenced on the 10th of October, 1806, between France and Prussia, and I demanded of the senate that a stop should be put to the Prussian recruiting. The news of a great victory gained by the emperor over the Prussians on the 14th of October reached Hamburg on the 19th, brought by some fugitives, who gave such exaggerated accounts of the loss of the French army, that it was not until the arrival of the official despatches on the 28th of October, that we knew whether to mourn or to rejoice at the victory of Jena.\*

The Duke of Brunswick, who was dangerously wounded at the battle of Auerstaedt, arrived on the 29th of October at Altona.† His entrance into that city afforded a striking example of the vicissitudes of fortune? That prince entered Altona on a wretched litter, borne by ten men, without officers, without domestics, followed by a troop of vagabonds and children, who were drawn together by curiosity. He was lodged in a wretched inn, and so much worn out by fatigue and the pain of his eyes, that on the day after his arrival, a report of his death very generally prevailed. Doctor Unzer was immediately sent for to attend the unfortunate duke, who, during the few days that he survived his wounds, saw no one except his wife, who arrived on the 1st of November. He declined to see visitors, and expired on the 10th of the same month.

At this juncture Bernadotte returned to Hamburg. I asked him how I was to account for his conduct while he was with Davoust, who had left Nauemburg to attack the Prussian army; and whether it were true he had refused to march with that general, and afterwards to aid him when he attacked the Prussians on the Weimar road. "The letters I received," observed I, "state that you took no part in the battle of Auerstaedt; that I did not believe, but I suppose you saw the bulletin which I received a little after the battle, and which stated that Bonaparte said at Nauemburg, in the presence of

\* At the conclusion of the present chapter, the reader will find a detailed account of the memorable battle of Jena, and that of Auerstaedt, which preceded it. To these accounts are added some curious particulars relative to the Queen of Prussia.—E. Ed.

† This prince was in the seventy-second year of his age, and extremely infirm.

several officers, 'Were I to bring him before a court-martial he would be shot. I shall say nothing to him about it, but I will take care he shall know what I think of his behaviour. He has too keen a sense of honour not to be aware that he acted disgracefully.'—"I think him very likely," rejoined Bernadotte, "to have made these observations: he hates me, because he knows I do not like him, but let him speak to me, and he shall have his answer. If I am a Gascon, he is a greater one still. I might have felt piqued at receiving something like orders from Davoust, but I did my duty."\*

In the beginning of November, the Swedes entered Lubeck; but on the 8th of that month the town was taken by assault, and the Swedes, as well as the rest of the corps which had escaped from Jena, were made prisoners.

A corps of Prussians had advanced within four leagues of Hamburg, and that town had already prepared for a vigorous resistance, in case they should attempt an entrance, when Major Amiel attacked them at Zollenspieker and made many prisoners. Hamburg was, however, threatened with another danger, for Major Amiel expressed his intention of entering with all his prisoners, notwithstanding the acknowledged neutrality of the town. Amiel was a partisan leader in the true sense of the word; he fought rather on his own account than with the intention of contributing to the success of the operations of the army. His troop did not consist of more than forty men, but that was more than sufficient to spread terror and devastation in the surrounding villages. He was a bold fellow, and when with his handful of men he threw himself upon Hamburg, the worthy inhabitants thought he had with him twenty thousand troops. He had pillaged every place through which he passed, and brought with him three hundred prisoners, and a great many horses he had taken on his road. It was night when he presented himself at the gates of the city, which he entered alone, having left his men and booty at the last village. He proceeded to the hotel of the French Legation. I was not there at the time, but I was sent for, and about seven o'clock in the evening I had my first interview with the major. He was the very beau ideal of a bandit, and would have been an admirable model for a painter. I was not at all surprised to hear, that on his

\* M. de Bourrienne's statement relative to Bonaparte's dissatisfaction of Bernadotte's conduct at Auerstaedt is fully confirmed in Rapp's account of the battle. (See extract at the end of the present chapter.)—E. Ed.

arrival his wild appearance and huge mustaches had excited some degree of terror among those who were in the saloon. He described to me his exploits on his march, and did not disguise his intention of bringing his troops into Hamburg next day. He talked of the bank and of pillage. I tried for some time, but fruitlessly, to divert him from this idea, but without effect, and at length said to him, "Sir, you know that this is not the way the emperor wishes to be served. During the seven years that I have been about him, I have invariably heard him express his indignation against those who aggravate the misery which war naturally brings in her train: it is the express wish of the emperor that no damage, no violence whatever, shall be committed on the city or territory of Hamburg." These few words produced a stronger effect than any entreaties I could have used, for the mere name of the emperor made even the boldest tremble, and Major Amiel next thought of selling his booty. The senate was so frightened at the prospect of having Amiel quartered upon them, that to get rid of him they determined to purchase his booty at once, and even furnished him with guards for his prisoners. I did not learn till some time afterwards, that among the horses Major Amiel had seized upon the road, were those of the Countess Walmoden. Had I known this fact at the time, I should certainly have taken care to have had them restored to her. Madame Walmoden was then a refugee at Hamburg, and between her and my family a close intimacy existed. On the very day, I believe, of the major's departure, the senate wrote me a letter of thanks for the protection I afforded the town.

Before the commencement of the Prussian campaign, while anxiety was entertained respecting the designs of the cabinet of Berlin, my task was not an easy one. I exerted all my efforts to acquaint the French government of what was passing on the Spree. I announced the first intelligence of an unexpected movement which had taken place among the Prussian troops cantoned in the neighbourhood of Hamburg. They suddenly evacuated Lauenburg, Platzburg, Haarbarg, Stade, Twisemfelth, and Cuxhaven. This extraordinary movement gave rise to a multitude of surmises. I was not wrong when I informed the French government, that according to every probability, Prussia was about to declare hostilities openly against France, and to enter into alliance with England. I keenly regretted that my situation did not allow me more frequent opportunities of meeting Mr. Thornton, the English minister to the circle of Lower Saxony. However, I saw him sometimes,

and had on two different occasions the opportunity of rendering him some service.

Mr. Thornton had requested me to execute a little private business for him, the success of which depended on the emperor. I made the necessary communication to the minister for foreign affairs, adding in my letter, that Mr. Thornton's conduct towards the French who had come in any way into contact with him, had ever been just and liberal, and that I should receive great pleasure in being able to announce to him the success of his application. His request was granted.

On another occasion, Mr. Thornton again applied to me for my services, and I had once more the pleasure of rendering them. He wished to procure some information respecting an Englishman named Baker, who had gone to Terracina, in the Campagna di Roma, for the benefit of sea-bathing. He was there arrested, without any cause assigned, by order of the commandant of the French troops in Terracina. The family of Mr. Baker not having heard from him for some months, became very uneasy respecting him, for they had not the least idea of his arrest. His relations applied to Mr. Thornton, and that gentleman, notwithstanding the circumstances which, as I have stated, prevented our frequent intercourse, hesitated not a moment in requesting me to furnish him with some information respecting his countryman. I lost no time in writing to M. Alquier, our ambassador at Rome, and soon enabled Mr. Thornton to ease the apprehension of Mr. Baker's friends.

I had every opportunity of knowing what was passing in Italy, for I had just been invested with a new dignity. As the new King of Naples, Joseph, had no minister in Lower Saxony, he wished that I should discharge the function of minister plenipotentiary for Naples. His ministers accordingly received orders to correspond with me upon all business connected with his government, and his subjects. The relations between Hamburg and Naples were nearly null, and my new office made no great addition to my labour.

I experienced, however, a little more difficulty in combining all the post-offices of Hamburg in the office of the Grand Duchy of Berg, thus detaching them from the offices of Latour and Taxis, so named after the German family, who, for a length of time, had had the possession of them, and who were devoted to Austria.

The affair of the post-offices gained for me the approbation of Napoleon. He expressed his satisfaction through the medium of a letter I received from Duroc, who, at the same time,



recommended me to continue informing the emperor of all that was doing in Germany, relative to the plans of the Confederation of the North. I, therefore, despatched to the minister for foreign affairs a detailed letter, announcing that Baron Grote, the Prussian minister at Hamburg, had set off on a visit to Bremen and Lubeck. Among those who accompanied him on this excursion, was a person wholly devoted to me; and I knew that Baron Grote's object was to offer to those towns verbal propositions for their union with the Confederation of the North, which the King of Prussia wished to form as a counterpoise to the Confederation of the Rhine, just created by Napoleon. Baron Grote observed the strictest secrecy in all his movements. He showed, in confidence, to those to whom he addressed himself, a letter from M. Haugwitz, the minister from the King of Prussia, who endeavoured to point out to the Hanse Towns how much the Confederation of the North would turn to their advantage, it being the only means of preserving their liberty, by establishing a formidable power. However, to the first communication only an evasive answer was returned. M. Van Sienen, the syndic of Hamburg, was commissioned by the senate to inform the Prussian minister that the affair required the concurrence of the burghers, and that before he could submit it to them, it would be necessary to know its basis and conditions. Meanwhile, the syndic Doormann proceeded to Lubeck, where there also was a deputy from Bremen. The project of the confederation, however, never came to any thing.

I scrupulously discharged the duties of my functions, but I confess I often found it difficult to execute the orders I received, and more than once I took it upon me to modify their severity. I loved the frank and generous character of the Hamburgers, and I could not help pitying the fate of the Hanse Towns, heretofore so happy, and from which Bonaparte had exacted such immense sacrifices.

On the principal gate of the Hanse Towns is inscribed the following motto, well expressing the pacific spirit of the people: *Da nobis pacem, Domine, in diebus nostris*. The paternal and elective government, which did every thing to secure the happiness of these towns, was led to believe that the sacrifices imposed on them would be recompensed by the preservation of their neutrality. No distrust was entertained, and hope was kept alive by the assurances given by Napoleon. He published in the *Moniteur* that the Hanse Towns could not be included in any particular confederation. He thus strangled,

in its birth, the Confederation of the North, to which those feeble states would otherwise have been obliged to consent. When, in 1806, Napoleon marched against Prussia, he detached Marshal Mortier from the grand army, when it had passed the Rhine, and directed him to invade the electorate of Hesse, and march on Hamburg. On the 19th of November, the latter town was occupied by the French army, in the name of the emperor, amidst the utmost order and tranquillity.

I must acknowledge that I was under much apprehension for this event. At the intelligence of the approach of the French army, consternation was great and universal in Hamburg, which was anxious to maintain its neutrality unimpaired. At the urgent request of the magistrates of the city, I assumed functions more than diplomatic; and became, in some respects, the first magistrate of the town. I went to meet Marshal Mortier, to endeavour to dissuade him from entering. I thought I should, by this means, better serve the interests of France, than by favouring the occupation of a neutral town by our troops. But all my remonstrances were useless. Marshal Mortier had received formal orders from the emperor.

No preparations having been made at Hamburg for the reception of Marshal Mortier, he quartered himself and his whole staff upon me. The few troops he had with him were disposed of in my courtyard, so that the residence of a minister of peace was all at once converted into head-quarters. This state of things continued until a house was got ready for the Marshal.

Marshal Mortier had to make very rigorous exactions, but my representations suspended, for a while, Napoleon's orders for taking possession of the bank of Hamburg. I am here bound to bear testimony to the marshal's honourable principles and dignity of character. The representations which I had sent to Marshal Mortier were transmitted by the latter to the emperor at Berlin; and Mortier stated, that he had suspended the execution of the orders, until he should receive others. The emperor approved of this. It was, indeed, a happy event for France and for Europe, even more so than for Hamburg. Those who suggested to the emperor the idea of pillaging that fine establishment, must have been profoundly ignorant of its importance. They thought only of the ninety millions of marks banco deposited in its cellars.

By the famous decree of Berlin, dated 21st of November, 1806, Mortier was compelled to order the seizure of all English

merchandise in the Hanse Towns, but he enforced the decree only so far as to preserve the appearance of having obeyed his orders.

Mortier, on leaving Hamburg for Mecklenburg, was succeeded by General Michaud, who, in his turn, was succeeded by Marshal Brune, in the beginning of 1807. I am very glad to take the present opportunity of correcting the misconceptions which arose through the execution of certain acts of imperial tyranny. The truth is, Marshal Brune, during his government, constantly endeavoured to moderate, as far as he could, the severity of the orders he received. Bernadotte became governor of Hamburg when the battle of Jena rendered Napoleon master of Prussia and the north of Germany.

The Prince of Ponte-Corvo lightened, as far as possible, the unjust burdens and vexations to which that unfortunate town was subject. He never refused his assistance to any measures which I adopted to oppose a system of ruin and persecution. He often protected Hamburg against exorbitant exactions. The Hans Towns revived a little under his government, which continued longer than that of Mortier, Michaud, and Brune. The memory of Bernadotte will always be dear to the Hamburgers; and his name will never be pronounced without gratitude. His attention was especially directed to moderate the rigour of the customs; and, perhaps, the effect which his conduct produced on public opinion may be considered as having, in some measure, led to the decision which, four years after, made him Hereditary Prince of Sweden.

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## THE BATTLES OF AUERSTAEDT AND JENA,

DESCRIBED BY GÉNÉRAL RAPP.

“ We were in possession of the whole course of the Saale, and in a fair way to turn the enemy's army. The calculations of the Duke of Brunswick were completely frustrated. He had formed the idea of coming up with us on the Maine, of occupying our wings by detached corps, and penetrating our centre before we could concentrate our forces. He still possessed all the threads of that vast spy system which had harassed France since the emigrations. He knew the force and the route marked out for several corps which were marching from Meudon, and he did not doubt of anticipating us. Napoleon took a pleasure in cherishing this illusion; he made preparations, and caused reconnaissances

to be taken through the whole of that line. The duke had no longer any doubt of having penetrated our intentions; we were to debouch by Kœnigshaften; he made certain of that; he felt perfectly convinced of it. Our movements on his centre were only a snare, a *ruse de guerre*; we wished to deceive him, in order to prevent him from debouching by the forest of Thuringen, whilst we proceeded towards Coburg and Memmingen, in woody and mountainous countries, where his cavalry would have no opportunity of acting, or at least would be deprived of its advantage. It was of the utmost importance to anticipate us, and he hurried to Kœnigshaften.

"The enemy were engaged in the woods; Napoleon marched on Schleitz, sixty leagues from the presumed point of attack. The third corps quietly reposed on the 10th at Nauenburg, in the rear of the Duke of Brunswick. Hostilities were of only two days' date, and that prince, who was already uncovered on his left, was on the eve of being entirely cut to pieces. His communications with the Elbe were in danger; and he was nearly reduced to the same extremities as Mack, whom he had so violently censured. His advance-guard, on arriving on the Maine, found the field unoccupied. This circumstance seemed incomprehensible; but still it never led him to suspect the danger to which he was exposed. The rout of Saalfeld alone shook the confidence which he had placed in his own safety. He hastily retraced his course. Weimar and Hohenlohe were directed to come up speedily, and the army of reserve was ordered to make a forced march. But some parties mistook their route, and others did not use sufficient despatch, so that a portion of the troops were not engaged in the battle. The duke, who was disconcerted at a system of movements so novel to him, knew not what determination to adopt. All these marches and arrangements, so rapidly succeeding each other, formed a mass of confusion, in which he could discern neither plan nor object. The occupation of Nauenburg relieved him from this perplexity: he saw his left wing about to be turned, or at least exposed; he would not wait longer; he hastily rallied his army of reserve, which was advancing upon Halle, and left Hohenlohe at the camp of Capellendorf to mask the retrograde movement. His troops, who had not shared the disasters of Saalfeld and Schleitz, ridiculed the beaten corps; they shouted 'The king for ever! the queen for ever!' &c. They resolved to avenge the affront offered to the Prussian arms: there were not enough Frenchmen for them. The duke himself had resumed his confidence. On the Auerstaedt road he found not more than thirty chasseurs. His communications were free; it was impossible they could be intercepted: it was not easy to surprise a skilful manœuvrer like the duke. Hohenlohe's Prussians were encamped behind the heights of Jena: their masses extended as far as the eye could reach; they

were prolonged beyond Weimar. Napoleon reconnoitred them on the evening of the 13th, and fixed the attack for the following day. In the night he distributed orders for the movements of the different corps. 'As to Davoust, he must march on Apolda, so as to fall on the rear of the enemy's army. He may take whatever route he may deem most expedient; I leave that to himself, provided he take part in the battle: if Bernadotte be at hand he may support him. Berthier, issue instructions accordingly.' It was ten o'clock at night; all the arrangements were made, and yet the general commanding the enemy's force flattered himself with the hope that we could not debouch. But the axes of the pioneers removed every obstacle; the rock was cut, and trenches were opened: the action commenced on the right and the left; the conflict was terrible. Davoust, in particular, was placed in a situation in which a man of less firmness might have found his courage fail him. Bernadotte refused to support him; he even forbade two divisions of the reserve cavalry, which, however, were not under his command, from taking part in the action. He paraded round Apolda, while 26,000 French troops were engaged with 70,000 picked men, commanded by the Duke of Brunswick and the King of Prussia. But this circumstance only added to the glory of the commander, whom it might have ruined. Davoust's plans were so well laid, his generals and his troops deployed with such skill and courage, that Blücher, with his 12,000 cavalry had not the satisfaction to cut a single company. The king, the guards, and the whole army, attacked our troops without obtaining better success. Amidst the deluge of fire that surrounded them on all sides, the French preserved their national gaiety. A soldier, whom his comrades had nicknamed *the emperor*, impatient at the obstinacy of the Prussians, exclaimed, 'On with me, grenadiers!—Come, follow the emperor!'—He rushed into the thickest of the battle, the troop followed him, and the Prussian guards were penetrated. He was made a corporal: his friends remarked that he only wanted the protectorate.

"At Jena the victory had been no less brilliant: the rout was complete and general; the enemy fled in the utmost confusion.

"In the evening I was directed, together with the grand duke, to pursue the wrecks of the Prussian army. We took some Saxon battalions, and we entered *pêle-mêle* with them into Weimar. We stationed our posts before the town, despatched some parties of cavalry on the Erfurt road, and presented ourselves at the castle. M. de Pappenheim, whom I recollected having seen in Paris came out to meet us. He was quite alarmed; but we assured him he had no cause for apprehension. All the court, with the exception of the grand duke and his family, were at Weimar. The duchess received us with perfect politeness. I was acquainted with several ladies of her suite, one of whom has since

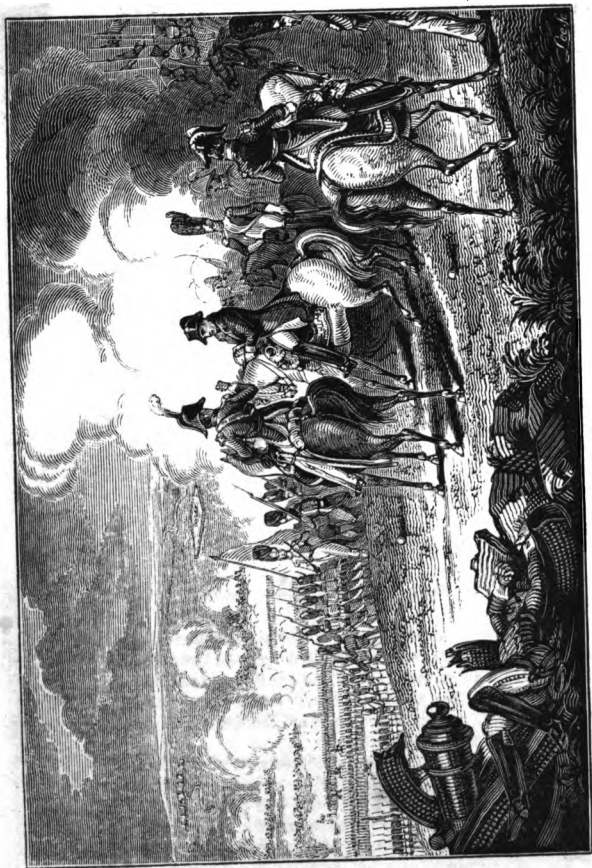
become my sister-in-law. I endeavoured to calm their fears. They took courage. Some few disorders took place; but they were of little importance.

“Murat took up his quarters at the castle. I set out to join Napoleon at Jena, in order to render him an account of the events of the evening. He did not think that they would go beyond Weimar. He was highly satisfied. The courage of the duchess astonished him. He did not imagine that the court would have waited for him. He did not like the family; this he often repeated. The night was far advanced, and Napoleon had just received despatches from the second corps. ‘Davoust,’ said he to me, ‘has had a terrible engagement: he had King William and the Duke of Brunswick opposed to him. The Prussians fought desperately: they suffered dreadful slaughter. The duke has been dangerously wounded; and the whole army seems to be in terrible disorder. Bernadotte did not behave well. He would have been pleased had Davoust been defeated; but the affair reflects the highest honour on the conqueror, and the more so as Bernadotte rendered his situation a difficult one. That Gascon will never do better.’

“The battle was lost. The Prussians were no longer eager to carry on the war; they wished for and invoked peace. They were anxious to terminate a contest in which they had such ill success. By dint of wishing for an armistice, they at length persuaded themselves that one had been granted. Kalkreuth announced it: Blucher swore that it was concluded: how could it be discredited. Soult, however, was not to be caught in the snare. The imprudent generosity evinced at Austerlitz had rendered him distrustful. He refused to afford a passage to the troops whom he had cut off. ‘The convention you speak of is impossible!’ said he to the field-marshal. ‘Lay down your arms. I must receive the emperor’s orders. You shall retire if he permit it.’ Kalkreuth was unwilling to resort to this kind of expedient. It always has somewhat the appearance of a defeat: and he would rather have experienced one in good earnest. Some other columns were more fortunate. But it was only deferring the evil moment: they were obliged to surrender some leagues further on. It was not worth while to resort to the deception.

“The king himself was disheartened by his misfortunes. Our hussars gave him neither truce nor respite. He recollected all that Napoleon had done to avoid hostilities; and he addressed a letter to him. It was rather late to reply to overtures which had been so ill received. ‘It would have been better,’ said Napoleon, ‘had he explained himself two days sooner; but no matter, I am willing to accede to any thing that is compatible with the dignity and interests of France. I will send Duroc to the King of Prussia. But there is something still more urgent yet. Duroc, set out immediately. Proceed to Nauenburg to Dessau, wherever we have





THE BATTLE OF JENA.

London : Published by Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley. 1831.  
*General Review of the Campaign of 1806.*



wounded troops. See that they want for nothing : visit them for me; each man individually. Give them all the consolation their situation requires. Tell them—tell the Marshal, that he, his generals, and his troops, have acquired everlasting claims on my gratitude.’

“ He was not satisfied with this message. He wrote to assure him how much he was pleased with his conduct. His letter was inserted in the order of the day. The troops were transported with it: even the wounded men could not refrain from expressing their delight.

“ The emperor established his head-quarters at Weimar. He showed every possible mark of respect to the duchess, whom he found to be an amiable and sensible woman, and of very dignified manners.

“ Meanwhile the enemy was rallying on Magdeburg. The wrecks of the army that had been engaged at Jena, the army of reserve, and the troops of Old and New Prussia, hastily repaired to that place. The Duke of Wirtemberg had already taken a position at Halle; and Bernadotte proceeded thither. His corps had not been engaged at Auerstaedt; and he was eager for an opportunity to compensate the portion of glory he had lost. He attacked the Prussians with the bayonet; killing and routing all that opposed him. The carnage was dreadful. On the following day, Napoleon visited the field of battle. He was struck with the sight of the heaps of dead which surrounded the bodies of some of our soldiers. He approached; and, observing on their uniform the numbers of the 32d, ‘ So many of that regiment,’ said he, ‘ have been killed in Italy, in Egypt, and elsewhere, that I should think none can now remain.’ ”—*Memoirs of General Rapp*, p. 79.

## THE BATTLE OF JENA,

DESCRIBED BY GENERAL SAVARY.

“ On entering Jena, we obtained certain news of the Prussian army. It had left Weimar in two great corps: the largest, under the immediate command of the King of Prussia and the Duke of Brunswick, had taken the road from Weimar to Naumburg; the other, which was under the orders of the Prince of Hohenlohe, had directed its march on Jena.

“ In fact, the first companies of chasseurs, which debouched on the summit of the mountain which commands Jena, discovered the enemy’s line; the left of which had just taken an *appui* in front of the point by which we debouched. The emperor reconnoitred it himself, alone and within pistol-shot. The sun had not set; he alighted from his horse, and advanced until some muskets were fired at him. He returned, to hasten the march of his columns: he himself conducted the generals to the positions

which he wished them to occupy during the night, and recommended to them not to take their positions until it was so dark that they could not be seen from the enemy's line.

"He slept in the bivouac amidst his troops, having first made all the generals who were there sup with him. Before he lay down he descended the hill of Jena on foot, to be certain that no ammunition-waggon had been left at the bottom. He there found the whole of Marshal Lannes's artillery sticking in a ravine, which in the obscurity of the night had been mistaken for a road, and which was so narrow that the linchpins of the wheels rubbed against the rocks on both sides. There was thus no getting forward or backward; and there were a hundred waggons, one behind the other, in the defile. This artillery was intended to be the first in service; the artillery of the other corps being behind it.

"The emperor was excessively angry, but showed his displeasure only by a cold silence. He inquired frequently for the general who had the command of the artillery, and appeared greatly astonished at his absence; but without wasting time in reproaches, he set to work himself to do the duty of an artillery-officer. He collected the men, made them get their park-tools, and light the lanterns, one of which he held for the convenience of those whose labours he directed. In this way the ravine was sufficiently widened, and the extremities of the axletrees cleared of the rocks. I shall never forget the expression in the countenances of the men on seeing the emperor lighting them with a lantern, nor the heavy blows with which they struck the rocks. They were exhausted with fatigue, but no one uttered a complaint; all felt the importance of the service in which they were engaged; and they did not refrain from expressing surprise at finding that it should be necessary for the emperor himself to set this example to his officers. The emperor did not leave the spot until the first waggon had passed through, which was not until late in the night. He afterwards returned to his bivouac, and issued some orders before he reposed.

"This happened on the night between the 13th and 14th of October. On that night there was a hoar frost, accompanied by a thick fog, similar to that which we experienced at Austerlitz; but it was favourable to us, for we were upon a level height of a limited extent, which obliged us to form the troops in large masses, almost touching each other, in order to facilitate their deploying in the morning. This level was not more than two hundred toises from the position occupied by the left of the Prussians. Had it not been for this fog, our fires would have served as a direction for the enemy; and their artillery would have done us considerable mischief, for every shot would have told. However, fortune favoured us wonderfully; for the fog lasted until eight o'clock next morning.

"We were under arms at daybreak; but the fog was still so

thick, that we could not see our way in advancing on the enemy's line. Beside the wood on which his left rested, there was a tract of ground by which we could pass, as had been ascertained on the day before, but in seeking it during the fog we came upon the wood which the enemy occupied. A skirmish then began, which afforded the Prussians a point of direction. We now got into the road by turning a little to the left, and the artillery was conducted in that direction in close columns. The Prussian line finding itself attacked, and fearing a grand movement in front, proceeded to manœuvre to gain a position nearer its main body. It was now nine in the morning; we had fired only a few guns, and, with the exception of the 17th light infantry which attacked the wood, none of our troops had been engaged. The atmosphere cleared up, the sun shone bright, and we were in presence of the Prussians. The cannonade commenced in the centre, and was more brisk on the side of the enemy than on ours.

" Marshal Ney, who was on the right of Marshal Lannes, attacked the extreme left of the Prussians. He carried a village which formed its *appui*, was repulsed, retook the village, and was again driven from it. He would in all probability have lost a great many men, had not one of Marshal Soult's divisions, which arrived by our extreme right, and which, notwithstanding its excessive fatigue, was marched forward, completely out-flanked the point which Marshal Ney was so obstinately set upon holding, though it was quite out of our natural position.

" The movement of Marshal Soult's division caused the evacuation of the village; and had only half an hour's patience been exercised before it was attacked, the lives of many brave men would have been spared.

" The emperor was very much displeased at Marshal Ney's obstinacy. He said a few words to him on the subject, but with delicacy. This movement, for occupying the point on which the extreme left of the Prussians rested, was seconded by a vigorous attack operated on their centre by Marshal Lannes, who wished to give them a close discharge of musketry. The boldness of his advance made the Prussian army change front on its right wing, the left wing in the rear. This obliged us to perform the opposite movement; namely, to change front on our left wing, with our right wing in advance. The action recommenced along the whole front, and a fortunate incident gave us the victory. The emperor had left Marshal Augereau at Mentz, to form a corps with the regiments which after the peace of Austerlitz had been sent to France, and which were ordered to repair to Mentz by forced marches. Augereau made so rapid a march from Mentz, that he arrived at Jena while the action was going on. He did not pause a moment, and appeared in the field of battle at the moment when the Prussian line was attacked in the position I have described. Marshal Augereau's column advanced through a

fir-wood, in such a manner that it debouched in the rear of the Prussian right; the 14th regiment of the line was at the head of the column. It commenced an attack of musketry before the Prussians had time to reconnoitre it. This attack being vigorously maintained, caused a retrograde movement on the right of the Prussians, which made their whole line waver.

"The emperor had but few cavalry with him. The parties which were in the direction of Naumburg had not yet arrived, so that we had on the field of battle only one brigade of light cavalry, commanded by General Durosnel, another commanded by General Auguste de Colbert, and the 1st, 9th, and 11th regiments of hussars.

"The above corps of cavalry were all assembled in our centre; and the moment the oscillation in the Prussian line was observed, they were sent forward, and ordered to charge with desperation. The charge succeeded; and disorder and rout began to appear among the Prussians. They tried the effect of bringing forward their own cavalry, by which ours, being weaker, was for an instant checked; but this did not enable their army to rally, and it was completely broken. The head of the Grand Duke of Berg's cavalry arrived at this moment on the ground, and uniting with the rest, proceeded on the route to Weimar, along which the Prussians were flying.

"The emperor, at the point where he stood, saw the flight of the Prussians, and our cavalry taking them by thousands. Night was approaching; and here, as at Austerlitz, the emperor rode round the field of battle. He often alighted from his horse to give a little brandy to the wounded; and several times I observed him putting his hand to the breast of a soldier to ascertain whether his heart beat, because, in consequence of having seen some slight appearance of colour in his cheeks, he supposed he might not be dead. If he found a greater number of dead on one part of the field than another, he looked at the buttons to ascertain the number of the regiment; and it was his custom, at the first review in which he saw that regiment, to ask questions as to the manner in which it attacked, or had been attacked, in order to discover the cause of the loss he had observed.

"While thus making the tour of the field of battle, I saw him two or three times discover, in the manner I have mentioned, men who were still alive. On these occasions he gave way to a joy which it is impossible to describe, but which was quickly followed by a melancholy expression, occasioned by the reflection that there were many others in the like situation whom he could not hope to find.

"This evening he was upon the whole pretty well satisfied with what he saw done. The commissariat had performed its duty. The wounded were collected without delay, and every where attended with the greatest care.

"He returned to pass the night at Jena, where he received the professors of the university. He made a present to the vicar of that town, who had distinguished himself by his humane attention to the comfort of the wounded and the prisoners."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo*, vol. i. part II. p. 179.

## THE QUEEN OF PRUSSIA AT THE BATTLE OF JENA.

"A few minutes before the attack, the Queen of Prussia, mounted on a superb charger, appeared on the field of battle, and, accompanied by the *élite* of the youth of Berlin, rode along the front of the most advanced lines of the Prussian army. The flags, which her own hands had embroidered to stimulate the troops, together with those which had been borne in the armies of Frederick the Great, and which were blackened with gunpowder, were lowered at her approach. Shouts of enthusiasm resounded through the Prussian ranks. The atmosphere was so clear, and the two armies were so close to each other, that the French could plainly discern the costume of the royal amazon.

"Her singular dress was indeed the chief cause of the danger she incurred in her flight. On her head was a helmet of polished steel, shaded by a superb plume. The rest of her dress consisted of a cuirass, glistening with gold and silver; and a tunic of silver brocade, reaching to her feet, on which she wore red boots, with gold spurs.

"When the Prussian army was routed, the queen remained on the field, attended by three or four young men of her escort, who had defended her. However, a small party of hussars, who had fought gloriously during the battle, rushed forward at full gallop, and with drawn swords dispersed the little group. Startled by this unexpected attack, the horse which her majesty rode darted off at a furious gallop, and had he not possessed the fleetness of a stag, the fair queen would infallibly have been captured by the French hussars, who were several times very close upon her.

"The queen, thus pursued, arrived within sight of the gates of Weimar, when a strong detachment of dragoons was seen pursuing her at full speed. The commander of the detachment had orders to take the queen at all risks. But no sooner had she entered Weimar, than the gates were closed, and the hussars and dragoons returned disappointed to the field of battle."—*Mémoires de Constant*, vol. ii. (E. Ed.)

## CHAPTER III.

General Perron and M. Bourguieu—Their large fortunes and mutual animosity—Ukase of the Emperor of Russia—Duroc's mission to Weimar—Napoleon's views defeated—Triumphs of the French armies—Letters from Murat—False report respecting Murat—Resemblance between Moreau and M. Billaud—Generous conduct of Napoleon—His interview with Madame Hatzfeld at Berlin—Letter from Bonaparte to Josephine—Blücher my prisoner—His character—His confidence in the future fate of Germany—Prince Paul of Wirtemberg taken prisoner—His wish to enter the French service—Distinguished emigrants at Altona—Deputation of the senate to the emperor at Berlin—The German princes at Altona—Fauche-Borel, and the Count de Gimel.

THERE are few who have not heard of the famous General Perron, who acted so conspicuous a part with Schindia among the Mahrattas. I had been at Hamburg something more than a year, when he arrived there: he came to me for a passport, and he gave me an amusing account of his adventures, which were truly extraordinary. He told me that he once possessed more than fifty millions, but that he had been obliged to give such considerable sums to the English for the liberty of embarking at one of their East India ports, as amounted to three-fourths of his whole fortune. Many of his trunks were packed with magnificent cashmires, some of which he presented to me.

General Perron had lost one hand. He was the father of two children, a boy and a girl: their mother was an Indian female, and the copper-coloured complexion of the children denoted their maternal origin. Their costume was so singular as to attract attention wherever they went: their necks and arms were bound by large rings of pure gold, but the necklace and bracelets were not like those worn by the ladies of Europe, which can be put on and off at pleasure, but had been soldered together so skilfully that the juncture could

scarcely be discovered. The children did not understand a word of French: their father appeared fondly attached to them.

Some days after General Perron's arrival, M. Bourguien came also from Bengal, and took a passport for France. He was at open war with M. Perron, who spoke of him in equally hostile terms. Each professed contempt for the other, and they vented mutual reproaches about the ruin of the Mahrattas. Both had realized immense fortunes. I know not what has become of M. Bourguien, but General Perron purchased a splendid estate in the neighbourhood of Vendome, where he lives retired. He has married again, and has several children by his second wife. One of his daughters, a beautiful girl, married some years ago a gentleman named M. de la Rochefoucauld, but she died shortly after their union.

In September, 1806, it became very manifest that as soon as war should break out between France and Prussia, Russia would not be slow in forming an alliance with the latter power. Peace had, however, been re-established between Napoleon and Alexander, by virtue of a treaty just signed at Paris. By that treaty Russia was to evacuate the mouths of the Cataro, a condition with which she was in no hurry to comply. I received a number of the Court Gazette of St. Petersburg, containing a ukase of the Emperor of Russia, in which Alexander pointed out the danger which again menaced Europe, showed the necessity of adopting precautions for general tranquillity and the security of his own empire, and declared his determination of not only completing but augmenting his army. He, therefore, ordered a levy of four men out of every five hundred inhabitants.

Before the commencement of hostilities, Duroc was sent to the King of Prussia with the view of discovering whether there was any possibility of renewing negotiations; but affairs were already too much embarrassed. All Duroc's endeavours were in vain, and perhaps it was no longer in the power of the King of Prussia to avoid war with France. Besides, he had just grounds of offence against the emperor. Although the latter had given him Hanover in exchange for the two Margravates, he had, nevertheless, offered to England the restoration of that province as one of the terms of the negotiations commenced with Mr. Fox. This underhand work was not unknown to the Berlin cabinet, and Napoleon's duplicity rendered Duroc's mission useless. At this time the King of Prussia was at Weimar.

Victory every where favoured the French arms. Prince Hohenlohe, who commanded a corps of the Prussian army, was forced to capitulate at Prentzlau. After this capitulation, General Blucher took the command of the remains of the corps, to which he joined the troops whose absence from Prentzlau exempted them from the capitulation. These corps, added to those which Blucher had at Auerstaedt, were then almost the only ramparts of the Prussian monarchy. Soult and Bernadotte received orders from Murat to pursue Blucher without delay, who was using all his efforts to draw from Berlin the forces of those two generals. Blucher marched in the direction of Lubeck.

General Murat pursued the wreck of the Prussian army, which had escaped from Saxony by Magdeburg. Blucher was driven upon Lubeck. It was very important to the army at Berlin, that this numerous corps should be destroyed, commanded as it was by a skilful and brave general, who drew from the centre of the military operations numerous troops, with which he might throw himself into Hanover, or Hesse, or even Holland, and by joining the English troops, harass the rear of the grand army. The Grand Duke of Berg explained to me his plans and expectations, and soon after announced their fulfilment in several letters which contained among other things the particulars of the taking of Lubeck.

In two of these letters, Murat, who was probably deceived by his agents, or by some intriguer, informed me, that General Moreau had arrived in Hamburg on the 28th of October. The proof which Murat possessed of this circumstance was a letter of Fauche-Borel, which he had intercepted. I recollect a curious circumstance which serves to show the necessity of mistrusting the vague intelligence furnished to persons in authority. A fortnight before I received Murat's first letter, a person informed me that General Moreau was in Hamburg. I gave no credit to the intelligence: yet I endeavoured to ascertain whether it had any foundation, but without effect. Two days after, I was assured that an individual had met General Moreau—that he had spoken to him—that he knew him well from having served under him; together with various other circumstances, the truth of which there appeared no reason to doubt. I immediately sent for the individual in question, who told me that he knew Moreau—that he had met him—that the general had inquired of him the way to the Jungfersteige (a promenade at Hamburg)—that he had pointed it out to him, and then said, "Have I not the honour to speak to



General Moreau?" upon which the general answered, "Yes, but say nothing about having seen me, I am here incognito." All this appeared to me so absurd, that, pretending not to know Moreau, I asked the person to describe him to me. He described a person bearing no resemblance to Moreau, and added, that he wore a braided French coat, and the national cockade in his hat. I instantly perceived the whole was a mere scheme for getting a little money. I sent the fellow about his business. In a quarter of an hour after I had got rid of him, M. Chevardiere called on me, and introduced M. Billaud, the French consul at Stettin. This gentleman wore a braided coat and the national cockade in his hat. He was the hero of the story I had heard from the informer. A slight personal resemblance between the consul and the general had caused several persons to mistake them for each other.

During the Prussian campaign nothing was talked of throughout Germany but Napoleon's generous conduct with respect to Prince Hatzfeld. I was fortunate enough to obtain a copy of a letter which the emperor wrote to Josephine on the subject, and which I shall presently lay before the reader. In conformity with the inquisitorial system which too frequently characterized the emperor's government, and which he extended to every country of which he had military possession, the first thing done on entering a town was to take possession of the post-office, and then, Heaven knows how little respect was shown to the privacy of correspondence. Among the letters thus seized at Berlin, and delivered to Napoleon, was one addressed to the King of Prussia by Prince Hatzfeld, who had imprudently remained in the Prussian capital. In this letter the prince gave his sovereign an account of all that had occurred in Berlin since he had been compelled to quit it; and at the same time he informed him of the force and situation of the corps of the French army. The emperor, after reading this letter, ordered that the prince should be arrested, and tried by a court-martial, on the charge of being a spy.

The court was summoned, and little doubt could be entertained as to its decision, when Madame Hatzfeld repaired to Duroc, who, on such occasions, was always happy when he could facilitate communication with the emperor. On that day Napoleon had been at a review. Duroc knew Madame Hatzfeld, whom he had several times seen on his visits to Berlin. When Napoleon returned from the review, he was astonished to see Duroc at the palace at that hour, and inquired whether he had brought any news. Duroc

answered in the affirmative, and followed the emperor into his cabinet, where he soon introduced Madame Hatzfeld. The remainder of the scene is described in Napoleon's letter. It may easily be perceived that this letter is an answer to one from Josephine, reproaching him for the manner in which he spoke of women, and very probably of the beautiful and unfortunate Queen of Prussia, respecting whom he had expressed himself with too little respect in one of his bulletins. The following is Napoleon's letter :

I have received your letter, in which you seem to reproach me for speaking ill of women. It is true that I dislike female intriguers above all things. I am used to kind, gentle, and conciliatory women. I love them, and if they have spoiled me, it is not my fault, but yours. However, you will see that I have done an act of kindness to one deserving woman. I allude to Madame de Hatzfeld. When I showed her her husband's letter, she stood weeping, and in a tone of mingled grief and ingenuousness, said, " It is indeed his writing ! " This went to my heart, and I said, " Well, Madame, throw the letter into the fire, and then I shall have no proof against your husband." She burned the letter and was restored to happiness. Her husband now is safe : two hours later and he would have been lost. You see, therefore, that I like women who are simple, gentle, and amiable ; because they alone resemble you.\*

November 6, 1806, 9 o'clock, P. M.

\* As attempts have been made to throw doubt on the authenticity of the story here described, it may not be deemed superfluous to present to the reader Rapp's version of it. Rapp, it will be seen, sustained a prominent part in the affair ; and though his account of it, and that given by Bourrienne, be not precisely similar, they nevertheless correspond in all important particulars.

" Prince Hatzfeld had come to Potsdam as a deputy from the city of Berlin, and had been well received. He rendered an account of his mission, as well as I can recollect, to Count Hohenlohe, and reported to him the state of the troops, artillery, and ammunition, that were in the capital or which he had met on the road : his letter was intercepted. Napoleon delivered it to me, with orders immediately to arrest the prince and send him to the head-quarters of Marshal Davoust, which were two leagues distant. Berthier, Duroc, Caulincourt, and I, vainly endeavoured to appease the anger of Napoleon. He refused to listen to our representations. Prince Hatzfeld had transmitted reports relative to military affairs which were quite unconnected with his mission : he had evidently been acting the part of a spy. Savary, who, in his quality of commander of the military gendarmes, usually took cognizance of affairs of this kind, was then on a mission. I was obliged to assume his functions during his absence. I gave orders for the arrest of the prince ; but instead of having him conducted to the head-quarters of Davoust, I placed him in the chamber of the officer commanding the palace-guard, whom I directed to treat him with every mark of respect.

" Caulincourt and Duroc withdrew from the emperor's apartment. Napoleon was left alone with Berthier, and he directed him to sit down

When Marshal Bernadotte had forced Blucher into Lubeck, and made him prisoner, he sent to inform me of the circumstance; but I was far from expecting that the prisoner would

and write the order by which M. de Hatzfeld was to be arraigned before a military commission. The major-general made some representations in his favour. 'Your majesty will not, for so trivial an offence, shoot a man who is connected with the first families in Berlin. The thing is impossible, you will not think of it.' The emperor grew more angry. Neufchatel persisted in his intercession; Napoleon lost all patience, and Berthier quitted the room. I was called in. I had overheard the scene that had just taken place. I was afraid to hazard the least reflection: I was in a state of agony. Besides the repugnance I felt in being instrumental to so harsh a measure, it was necessary to write as rapidly as the emperor spoke; and I must confess I never possessed that talent. He dictated to me the following order:

"Our cousin Marshal Davoust will appoint a military commission, consisting of seven colonels of his staff, of which he will be the president, to try Prince Hatzfeld on a charge of treason and espionage. The sentence must be pronounced and executed before six o'clock in the evening."

"It was about noon. Napoleon directed me to despatch the order immediately, and to send with it Prince Hatzfeld's letter. The latter part of the instruction I did not, however, obey. My mind was racked by the most painful emotions. I trembled for the prince, and I trembled for myself; since, instead of sending him to Davoust's head-quarters, I had lodged him in the palace."

"Napoleon wished to have his horse saddled, as he intended to visit Prince and Princess Ferdinand. As I was going out to give the necessary orders, I was informed that the Princess of Hatzfeld had fainted in the antechamber, and that she had previously expressed a wish to speak to me. I went to her. I did not conceal from her the displeasure of Napoleon. I told her that we were going to ride out on horseback, and I directed her to repair to Prince Ferdinand, and to interest him in favour of her husband. I know not whether she did so; but on our arrival at the palace we found her in one of the corridors, and she threw herself, in tears, at the feet of the emperor, to whom I announced her name."

"The princess was in a state of pregnancy. Napoleon was moved by her situation, and directed her to proceed to the castle. He, at the same time, desired me to write to Davoust, to order the trial to be suspended:—he thought Prince Hatzfeld had departed."

"Napoleon returned to the palace, where Madame Hatzfeld was waiting for him. He desired her to enter the saloon: I was present. 'Your husband, Madam,' said he, 'has brought himself into an unfortunate scrape. According to our laws he deserves to be sentenced to death. General Rapp, give me his letter. Here, Madam, read this.' The lady trembled exceedingly. Napoleon immediately took the letter from her hand, tore it, and threw the fragments into the fire. 'I have no other proof against Prince Hatzfeld, Madam; therefore he is at liberty.' He ordered me immediately to release him from his confinement at head-quarters. I acknowledged that I had not sent him there; but he did not reproach me; he even seemed pleased at what I had done."

"In this affair, Berthier, Duroc, and Caulincourt, behaved as they did on all occasions, that is to say, like gallant men: Berthier's conduct was particularly praiseworthy."

"No sooner had Prince Hatzfeld returned to his family, than he was made acquainted with all that had passed. He wrote me a letter expressive of his gratitude, and the emotions by which he was agitated."—*Memoirs of General Rapp*, p. 107. (E. Ed.)

be confided to my charge. Such, however, was the case. After his capitulation he was sent to Hamburg, where he had the whole city for his prison.

I was curious to become acquainted with this celebrated man, and I saw him very frequently. I found that he was an enthusiastic Prussian patriot—a brave man, enterprising even to rashness, of limited education, and almost to an incredible degree devoted to pleasure, of which he took an ample share while he remained in Hamburg. He sat an enormous time at table, and notwithstanding his exclusive patriotism, he rendered full justice to the wines of France. His passion for women was unbounded, and one of his most favourite sources of amusement was the gaming-table, at which he spent a considerable portion of his time. Blucher was of an extremely gay disposition; and considered merely as a companion, he was very agreeable. The original style of his conversation pleased me much. His confidence in the deliverance of Germany remained unshaken in spite of the disasters of the Prussian army. He often said to me, “I place great reliance on the public spirit of Germany; on the enthusiasm which prevails in our universities. The events of war are daily changing, and even defeats contribute to nourish in a people sentiments of honour and national glory. You may depend upon it, that when a whole nation is determined to shake off a humiliating yoke, it will succeed. There is no doubt but we shall end by having a landwehre very different from any militia to which the subdued spirit of the French people could give birth. England will always lend us the support of her navy and her subsidies,\* and we will renew alliances with Russia and Austria. I can pledge myself to the truth of a fact of which I have certain knowledge, and you may rely upon it; namely, that none of the allied powers engaged in the present war entertain views of territorial aggrandizement. All they unanimously desire is to put an end to the system of aggrandizement which your emperor has established, and acts upon with such alarming rapidity. In our first war against France, at the commencement of your revolution, we fought for questions respecting the rights of sovereigns, for which, I assure you, I care very little; but now the case is altered, the whole population of

\* Whilst repeating Blucher's observations, I cannot help remarking the singular character of his patriotism, which reckoned amongst the means of success, the subsidies of one foreign power, and the alliance of another.

Prussia makes common cause with its government. The people fight in defence of their homes, and reverses destroy our armies without changing the spirit of the nation. I rely confidently on the future, because I foresee that fortune will not always favour your emperor. It is impossible: but the time will come when all Europe, humbled by his exactions, and impatient of his depredations, will rise up against him. The more he enslaves nations, the more terrible will be the reaction when they break their chains. It cannot be denied, that he is tormented with an insatiable desire of acquiring new territories. To the war of 1805 against Austria and Russia, the present war has almost immediately succeeded. We have fallen. Prussia is occupied; but Russia still remains undefeated. I cannot foresee what will be the termination of the war; but admitting that the issue should be favourable to you, it will end only to break out again speedily. If we continue firm, France, exhausted by her conquests, must in the end fall. That you may be certain of. You wish for peace. Recommend it. By so doing you will give strong proofs of love for your country."

In this strain Blucher constantly spoke to me; and, as I never thought it right to play the part of the public functionary in the drawing-room, I replied to him with the reserve necessary in my situation. I could not tell him how much my anticipations frequently coincided with his; but I never hesitated to express to him how much I wished to see a reasonable peace concluded.\*

Blucher's arrival at Hamburg was preceded by that of Prince Paul of Wirtemberg, the second son of one of the two kings created by Napoleon, whose crowns were not yet a year old. This young prince, who was imbued with the ideas of liberty and independence which then prevailed in Germany, had taken a headlong step. He had quitted Stuttgard to serve in the Prussian campaign without having asked his father's per-

\* Rapp mentions the following particulars relative to Blucher after his capture. At that time Rapp had been appointed governor of Thorn, and he says—

"I was now the providence of the Prussian generals. They wrote to me, entreating my intercession in their behalf. Blucher himself did not disdain to solicit the *grace* of his Majesty, the Emperor and King of Italy. He was at first to have been conducted to Dijon; but he had laid down arms, and therefore it signified little whether he was at Dijon or elsewhere. He was permitted to retire to Hamburg; but he soon grew tired of that city, and begged to be allowed to go to the neighbourhood of Berlin. However, the emperor did not grant his request."—*Rapp's Memoirs*, p. 130. (E. Ed.)

mission, which inconsiderate proceeding might have drawn Napoleon's anger upon the King of Wirtemberg. The King of Prussia advanced Prince Paul to the rank of general, but he was taken prisoner at the very commencement of hostilities. Prince Paul was not, as has been erroneously stated, conducted to Stuttgart by a captain of gendarmerie. He came to Hamburg, where I received many visits from him. He did not yet possess very definite ideas as to what he wished ; for, after he was made prisoner, he expressed to me his strong desire to enter the French service, and often asked me to solicit for him an interview with the emperor. He obtained this interview, and remained for a long time in Paris, where I know he has frequently resided since the restoration.

The individuals whom I had to observe in Hamburg gave me much less trouble than our neighbours at Altona. The number of the latter had considerably augmented, since the events of the war had compelled a great number of emigrants, who had taken refuge at Munster, to leave that town. They all proceeded to Altona. Conquered countries became as dangerous to them as the land which they had forsaken. The most distinguished amongst the individuals assembled at Altona, were Viscount de Sesmaisons, the Bailly d'Hautefeuille, the Duchess of Luxembourg, the Marquis de Bonnard, the Duke d'Aumont, the Duke de Villeguier, the wife of Marshal de Broglie and her daughter, Cardinal de Montmorency, Madame de Cossé, her two daughters, and her son (a priest), and the Bishop of Boulogne.

Bonaparte staid long enough at Berlin to permit of the arrival of a deputation from the senate to congratulate him on his first triumphs. I learned, that in this instance the senatorial deputation, departing from its accustomed complaisance, ventured not to confine itself to compliments and felicitations, but went so far as to interfere with the emperor's plan of the campaign—to speak of the danger that might be incurred in passing the Oder, and finally to express a desire to see peace concluded. Napoleon received this communication with a very bad grace. He thought the senators very bold to meddle with his affairs—treated the conscript fathers of France as if they had been inconsiderate youths—protested, according to custom, his sincere love of peace—and told the deputation that it was Prussia, backed by Russia, and not he, who wished for war. How could the emperor declare to a deputation from the senate that Prussia wished for war? She had, indeed, desired it at the approach of the campaign. When nursed

by illusion she had abandoned herself to dreams of hope; but since the events of October, all was changed. A sort of electric shock had dissipated all these dreams of independence, and all the German princes who had taken part against Napoleon fled to Altona after the battle of Jena, with as much precipitation as the emigrants themselves. The hereditary Prince of Weimar, the Duchess of Holstein, Prince Belmonte-Pignatelli, and a multitude of other persons, distinguished for rank and fortune, arrived there almost simultaneously. Among the persons who took refuge in Altona were some intriguers, of whom Fauche-Borel was one. I remember receiving a report respecting a violent altercation which Fauche had the audacity to enter into with Count de Gimel, because he could not extort money from the count in payment of his intrigues. Count de Gimel had only funds for the payment of pensions, and, besides, he had too much sense to suppose there was any utility in the stupid pamphlets of Fauche-Borel, and therefore he dismissed him with a refusal. Fauche was insolent, which compelled Count de Gimel to send him about his business as he deserved. This circumstance, which was first communicated to me in a report, has since been confirmed by a person who witnessed the scene. Fauche-Borel merely passed through Hamburg, and embarked for London on board the same ship which took Lord Morpeth back to England.

## CHAPTER IV.

Alarm of the city of Hamburg—The French at Bergdorff—Favourable orders issued by Bernadotte—Extortions in Prussia—False endorsements—Exactions of the Dutch—Napoleon's concern for his wounded troops—Duroc's mission to the King of Prussia—Rejection of the emperor's demands—My negotiations at Hamburg—Displeasure of the King of Sweden—M. Netzel and M. Wetherstedt.

At this critical moment Hamburg was menaced on all sides : the French even occupied a portion of its territory. The French troops, fortunately for the country, were attached to the corps commanded by the Prince de Ponte-Corvo. This military occupation alarmed the town of Hamburg, to which, indeed, it proved very injurious. I wrote to Marshal Bernadotte on the subject. The grounds on which the senate appealed for the evacuation of their territory were such, that Bernadotte could not but acknowledge their justice. The prolonged stay of the French troops in the bailiwick of Bergdorff, which had all the appearance of an occupation, might have led to the confiscation of all Hamburg property in England—to the laying an embargo on the vessels of the republic, and consequently to the ruin of a great part of the trade of France and Holland, which was carried on under the flag of Hamburg. There was no longer any motive for occupying the bailiwick of Bergdorff when there were no Prussians in that quarter. It would have been a misfortune that eighty men stationed in that bailiwick should, for the sake of a few louis and a few ells of English cloth, have occasioned the confiscation of Hamburg, French, and Dutch property, to the amount of eighty millions.

Marshal Bernadotte replied to me on the 16th of November, and said, "I hasten to inform you that I have given orders for the evacuation of the bailiwick of Bergdorff, and all the Ham-



burg territory. If you could obtain from the senate of Hamburg, by the 19th of this month, two or three thousand pairs of shoes, you would oblige me greatly. They shall be paid for in goods or in money."

I obtained what Bernadotte required from the senate, who knew his integrity, while they were aware that that quality was not the characteristic of all who commanded the French armies! What extortions took place during the occupation of Prussia! I will mention one of the means which, amongst others, was employed at Berlin to procure money: bills of exchange were drawn up, on which endorsements were forged, and these bills were presented to the bankers on whom they were purported to be drawn. One day some of these forged bills to a large amount were presented to Messrs. Mathiesen and Silleine of Hamburg, who, knowing the endorsement to be forged, refused to cash them. The persons who presented the bills carried their impudence so far as to send for the gendarmes, but the bankers persisted in their refusal. I was informed of this almost incredible scene, which had drawn together a great number of people. Indignant at such audacious robbery, I instantly proceeded to the spot and sent away the gendarmes, telling them it was not their duty to protect robbers, and that it was my business to listen to any just claims which might be advanced. Under Clarke's government at Berlin, the inhabitants were subject to all kinds of oppression and exaction. Amidst these exactions and infamous proceedings, which are not the indispensable consequences of war, the Dutch generals distinguished themselves by a degree of rapacity which brought to mind the period of the peculations in Italy. It certainly was not their new king who set the example of this conduct. His moderation was well known, and it was as much the result of his disposition as of his honest principles. Louis, who was a king in spite of himself, afforded an example of all that a good man could suffer upon a usurped throne.

When the King of Prussia found himself defeated at every point, he bitterly repented having undertaken a war which had delivered his states into Napoleon's power in less time than that in which Austria had fallen the preceding year. He wrote to the emperor, soliciting a suspension of hostilities. Rapp was present when Napoleon received the King of Prussia's letter. "It is too late," said he, "but, no matter, I wish to stop the effusion of blood; I am ready to agree to any thing which is not prejudicial to the honour or interests of the nation." Then calling Duroc, he gave him orders to visit the

wounded, and see that they wanted for nothing. He added, "Visit every man on my behalf; give them all the consolation of which they stand in need; afterwards find the King of Prussia, and if he offers reasonable proposals, let me know them."

Negotiations were commenced, but Napoleon's conditions were of a nature which was considered inadmissible. Prussia still hoped for assistance from the Russian forces. Besides, the emperor's demands extended to England, who, at that moment, had no reason to accede to the pretensions of France. The emperor wished England to restore to France the colonies which she had captured since the commencement of the war—that Russia should restore to the Porte Moldavia and Wallachia, which she then occupied; in short, he acted upon the advice which some tragedy-king gives to his ambassador: "Demand every thing, that you may obtain nothing." The emperor's demands were, in fact, so extravagant, that it was scarcely possible he himself could entertain the hope of their being accepted. Negotiations, alternately resumed and abandoned, were carried on with coldness on both sides until the moment when England prevailed on Russia to join Prussia against France: they then altogether ceased; and it was for the sake of appearing to wish for their renewal, on bases still more favourable to France, that Napoleon sent Duroc to the King of Prussia. Duroc found the king at Osterode, on the other side of the Vistula. The only answer he received from his majesty was, "The time is passed;" which was very much like Napoleon's observation, "It is too late," when he received the king's letter.

Whilst Duroc was on his mission to the King of Prussia, I was myself negotiating at Hamburg. Bonaparte was very anxious to detach Sweden from the coalition, and to terminate the war with her by a separate treaty. Sweden, indeed, was likely to be very useful to him, if Prussia, Russia, and England, should collect a considerable mass of troops in the north. Denmark was already with us, and by gaining over Sweden also, the union of those two powers might create a diversion, and give serious alarm to the coalition, which would be obliged to concentrate its principal force to oppose the attack of the grand army in Poland. The opinions of M. Peyron, the Swedish minister at Hamburg, were decidedly opposed to the war in which his sovereign was engaged with France. I was sorry that this gentleman left Hamburg upon leave of absence for a year, just at the moment I received my instructions

from the emperor upon the subject I have mentioned. M. Peyron was succeeded by M. Netzel, and I soon had the pleasure of perceiving that his opinions corresponded in every respect with those of his predecessor.

As soon as he arrived, M. Netzel sought an interview to speak to me on the subject of the Swedes, who had been taken prisoners on the Trave. He entreated me to allow the officers to return to Sweden on their parole. I was anxious to get M. Netzel's demand acceded to, and availed myself of that opportunity to lead him gradually to the subject of my instructions. I had good reason to be satisfied with the manner in which he received my first overtures. I said nothing to him of the justice, of which he was not previously convinced. I saw he understood that his sovereign would have every thing to gain by a reconciliation with France, and he told me that all Sweden demanded peace. Thus encouraged, I told him frankly that I was instructed to treat with him. M. Netzel assured me that M. de Wetterstedt, the King of Sweden's private secretary, with whom he was intimate, and from whom he showed me several letters, was of the same opinion on the subject as himself. He added, that he had permission to correspond with the king, and that he would write the same evening to his sovereign and M. de Wetterstedt, to acquaint them with our conversation.

It will be perceived from what I have stated, that no negotiation was ever commenced under more favourable auspices; but who could foresee what turn the King of Sweden would take? That unlucky prince took M. Netzel's letter in very ill part, and M. de Wetterstedt himself received peremptory orders to acquaint M. Netzel with his sovereign's displeasure at his having presumed to visit a French minister, and, above all, to enter into a political conversation with him, although it was nothing more than *conversation*. The king did not confine himself to reproaches: M. Netzel came in great distress to inform me he had received orders to quit Hamburg immediately, without even awaiting the arrival of his successor. He regarded his disgrace as complete. I had the pleasure of seeing M. Netzel again in 1809, at Hamburg, where he had a mission from King Charles XIII.

## CHAPTER V.

- The continental system—General indignation excited by it—Sale of licences by the French government—Custom-house system at Hamburg—My letter to the emperor—Cause of the rupture with Russia—Bernadotte's visit to me—Trial by a court-marshal for the purchase of a sugar-loaf—Davoust and the captain reporter—Influence of the continental system on Napoleon's fall.

I HAVE a few remarks to make on the famous continental system, which was a subject of such engrossing interest. I had, perhaps, better opportunities than any other person of observing the fraud, and estimating the fatal consequences of this system. It took its rise during the war of 1806, and was brought into existence by a decree, dated Berlin.\* The project was conceived by weak consellers, who, perceiving the emperor's just indignation at the duplicity of England—her repugnance to enter into serious negotiations with him—and her constant endeavours to raise up enemies against France, prevailed upon him to issue the decree, which I could only regard as an act of madness and tyranny. It was not a decree, but fleets, that were wanting. Without a navy it was ridiculous to declare the British isles in a state of blockade, whilst the English fleets were in fact blockading all the French ports. This declaration was, however, made in the Berlin decree. This is what was called the continental system! which, in plain terms, was nothing but a system of fraud and pillage.

One can now scarcely conceive how Europe could for a single day endure that fiscal tyranny, which extorted exorbitant prices for articles, which the habits of three centuries had ren-

\* Sir Walter Scott quotes another decree, dated Hamburg, 1807. Napoleon never was at Hamburg. The well-known Berlin decree, which declared the British isles in a state of blockade, was soon published in all the journals of Europe.

dered indispensable to the poor as well as to the rich. So little of truth is there in the pretence that this system had for its sole and exclusive object to prevent the sale of English goods, that licences for their disposal were procured at a high price by whoever was rich enough to pay for them. The number and quality of the articles exported from France were extravagantly exaggerated. It was, indeed, necessary to take out some of those articles in compliance with the emperor's wishes, but they were only thrown into the sea. And yet no one had the honesty to tell the emperor that England sold on the continent, but bought scarcely any thing. The speculation in licences was carried to a scandalous extent only to enrich a few, and to satisfy the shortsighted views of the contrivers of the system.

This system proves what is written in the annals of the human heart and mind, that the cupidity of the one is insatiable, and the errors of the other incorrigible. Of this I will cite an example, though it refers to a period posterior to the origin of the continental system. At Hamburg, in 1811, under Davoust's government, a poor man had wellnigh been shot for having introduced into the department of the Elbe a small loaf of sugar for the use of his family, while at the same moment Napoleon was perhaps signing a licence for the importation of a million of sugar-loaves.

Smuggling on a small scale was punished with death, whilst the government carried it on extensively. The same cause filled the treasury with money, and the prisons with victims.

The custom-house laws of this period, which waged open war against rhubarb, and armed the coasts of the continent against the introduction of senna, did not save the continental system from destruction. Ridicule attended the installation of the odious prevotal courts. The president of the prevotal court at Hamburg, who was a Frenchman, delivered an address, in which he endeavoured to prove, that in the time of the Ptolemies, there had existed extraordinary fiscal tribunals, and that it was to those Egypt owed her prosperity. Terror was thus introduced by the most absurd folly. The ordinary custom-house officers, formerly so much abhorred in Hamburg, declared with reason, that they would soon be regretted, and that the difference between them and the prevotal courts would soon be felt. Bonaparte's counsellors led him to commit the folly of requiring that a ship which had obtained a licence should export merchandise equivalent to

that of the colonial produce to be imported under the authority of the licence. What was the consequence? The speculators bought at a low price old stores of silks, which change of fashion had made completely unsaleable, and as those articles were prohibited in England, they were thrown into the sea without their loss being felt. The profits of the speculation made ample amends for the sacrifice. The continental system, which was worthy only of the ages of ignorance and barbarism, and which, had it been admissible in theory, was impracticable in application, cannot be sufficiently stigmatized. They were not the friends of the emperor who recommended a system calculated to rouse the indignation of Europe, and which could not fail to create reaction. To tyrannize over the human species, and to exact uniform admiration and submission, is to require an impossibility. It would seem that fate, which had still some splendid triumphs in store for Bonaparte, intended to prepare beforehand the causes which were to deprive him of all his triumphs at once, and plunge him into reverses even greater than the good fortune which had favoured his elevation.

The prohibition of trade, the habitual severity in the execution of this odious system, made it operate like a continental impost. I will give a proof of this, and I state nothing but what came under my own observation. The fiscal regulations were very rigidly enforced at Hamburg, and along the two lines of Cuxhaven and Travemunde. M. Eudel, the director of that department, performed his duty with zeal and disinterestedness. I feel gratified in rendering him this tribute. Enormous quantities of English merchandise and colonial produce were accumulated at Holstein, where they almost all arrived by way of Kiel and Hudsum, and were smuggled over the line at the expense of a premium of thirty-three and forty per cent. Convinced of this fact by a thousand proofs, and weary of the vexations of the preventive system, I took upon myself to lay my opinions on the subject before the emperor. He had given me permission to write to him personally, without any intermediate agency, upon every thing that I might consider essential to his service. I sent an extraordinary courier to Fontainebleau, where he then was, and in my despatch I informed him, that notwithstanding his preventive guard, every prohibited article was smuggled in, because the profits on the sale in Germany, Poland, Italy, and even France, into which the contraband goods found their way, were too considerable not to induce

persons to incur all risks to obtain them. I advised him, at the very time he was about to unite the Hanse Towns to the French empire, to permit merchandise to be imported subject to a duty of thirty-three per cent., which was about equal to the amount of the premium for insurance. The emperor adopted my advice without hesitation, and in 1811 the regulation produced a revenue of upwards of sixty millions of francs in Hamburg alone.

This system embroiled us with Sweden and Russia, who could not endure that Napoleon should exact a strict blockade from them, whilst he was himself distributing licences in abundance. Bernadotte, on his way to Sweden, passed through Hamburg, in October 1810. He staid with me three days, during which time he scarcely saw any person but myself. He asked my opinion as to what he should do relative to the continental system. I did not hesitate to declare to him, not as a French minister, but as a private individual to his friend, that in his place, at the head of a poor nation, which could only subsist by the exchange of its territorial productions with England, I would open my ports, and give the Swedes gratuitously that general licence which Bonaparte sold in detail to intrigue and cupidity.

The Berlin decree could not fail to cause a reaction against the emperor's fortune, by raising up whole nations against him. The hurling of twenty kings from their thrones would have excited less hatred than this contempt for the wants of nations. This profound ignorance of the maxims of political economy, caused general privation and misery, which in their turn occasioned general hostility. The system could only succeed in the impossible event of all the powers of Europe honestly endeavouring to carry it into effect. A single free port would have destroyed it. In order to ensure its complete success, it was necessary to conquer and occupy all countries, and never to evacuate them. As a means of ruining England it was contemptible. It was necessary that all Europe should be compelled by force of arms to join this absurd coalition, and that the same force should be constantly employed to maintain it. Was this possible? The captain reporter of a court-martial allowed a poor peasant to escape the punishment due to the offence of having bought a loaf of sugar beyond the custom-house barrier. This officer was some time afterwards at a dinner given by Marshal Davoust; the latter said to him, "You have a scrupulous

conscience, Sir; go to head-quarters and you will find an order there for you." This order sent him eighty leagues from Hamburg. It is necessary to have witnessed, as I have, the numberless vexations and miseries occasioned by the unfortunate continental system, to understand the mischief its authors did in Europe, and how much that mischief contributed to Napoleon's fall.



## CHAPTER VI.

**New system of war—Winter quarters—The emperor's proclamation—Necessity of marching to meet the Russians—Distress in the Hanse Towns—Order for fifty thousand cloaks—Seizure of Russian corn and timber—Murat's entrance into Warsaw—Re-establishment of Poland—Duroc's accident—M. de Talleyrand's carriage stopped by the mud—Napoleon's power of rousing the spirit of his troops—His mode of dictating—The Duke of Mecklenburgh-Schwerin—His visits to Hamburg—The Duke of Weimar—His letter and present—Journey of the hereditary Prince of Denmark to Paris—Butler, the English spy—Traveling clerks—Louis Bonaparte and the Berlin decree.**

BONAPARTE was not only beyond all comparison the greatest captain of modern times, but he may be said to have wrought a complete change in the art of war. Before his time, the most able generals regulated the fighting season by the almanack. It was customary in Europe to brave the cannon's mouth only from the first five days of spring, to the last five days of autumn; and the months of rain, snow, and frost, were passed in what were called winter quarters. Pichegru, in Holland, had set the example of indifference to temperature. At Austerlitz, too, Bonaparte had braved the severity of winter: this answered his purpose well, and he adopted the same course in 1806. His military genius and activity seemed to increase, and, proud of his troops, he determined to commence a winter campaign in a climate more rigorous than any in which he had yet fought. The men, chained to his destiny, were now required to brave the northern blast, as they had formerly braved the vertical sun of Egypt. Napoleon, who, above all generals, was remarkable for the choice of his fields of battle, did not wish to wait tranquilly until the Russian army, which was advancing towards Germany, should come to measure its strength with him in the plains of conquered Prussia; he resolved to march to meet it, and to reach it before it should

cross the Vistula : but before he left Berlin to explore, as a conqueror, Poland and the confines of Russia, he addressed a proclamation to his troops, in which he stated all that had hitherto been achieved by the French army, and at the same time he announced his future intentions. It was especially advisable that he should march forward ; for, had he waited until the Russians had passed the Vistula, there would, probably, have been no winter campaign, and he would have been obliged either to take up miserable winter quarters between the Vistula and the Oder, or to recross the Oder to combat the enemy in Prussia. His military genius and indefatigable activity served him admirably on this occasion, and the proclamation just alluded to, which was dated from Berlin before his departure for Charlottenburg, proves that he did not act fortuitously, as he frequently did, but that his calculations were well made.

A rapid and immense impulse given to great masses of men by the will of a single individual, may produce transient lustre, and dazzle the eyes of the multitude ; but when, at a distance from the theatre of glory, we see only the melancholy results which have been produced, the genius of conquest can only be regarded as the genius of destruction. What a sad picture was often presented to my eyes ! I was continually doomed to hear complaints of the general distress, and to execute orders which augmented the immense sacrifices already made by the city of Hamburg.—Thus for example, the emperor desired me to furnish him with fifty thousand cloaks, which I immediately did. I felt the importance of such an order at the approach of winter, and in a climate the rigour of which our troops had not yet encountered. I also received orders to seize at Lubeck (which town, as I have already stated, had been alternately taken and re-taken by Blucher and Bernadotte), four hundred thousand lasts of corn, and to send them to Magdeburg. This corn belonged to Russia. Marshal Mortier, too, had seized some timber for building, which also belonged to Russia, and which was estimated at fourteen hundred thousand francs.

Meanwhile our troops continued to advance with such rapidity, that before the end of November Murat arrived at Warsaw, at the head of the advanced guard of the grand army, of which he had the command. The emperor's head-quarters were then at Posen, and he received deputations from all parts soliciting the re-establishment and independence of the kingdom of Poland. Rapp informed me, that after receiving the

deputation from Warsaw, the emperor said to him:—"I love the Poles; their enthusiastic character pleases me; I should like to make them independent, but that is a difficult matter. Austria, Russia, and Prussia, have all had a slice of the cake; when the match is once kindled, who knows where the conflagration may stop: my first duty is towards France, which I must not sacrifice to Poland—we must refer this matter to the sovereign of all things—time: he will presently show us what we must do." Had Sulkowsky lived, Napoleon might have recollected what he had said to him in Egypt, and in all probability he would have raised up a power, the dismemberment of which, towards the close of the last century, began to break that sort of political equilibrium which had subsisted in Europe since the peace of Westphalia.

It was at the head quarters at Posen, that Duroc rejoined the emperor after his mission to the King of Prussia. His carriage overturned on the way, and he had the misfortune to break his collar-bone. All the letters I received were nothing but a succession of complaints on the bad state of the roads. Our troops were absolutely fighting in mud, and it was with extreme difficulty that the artillery and forges of the army could be moved along. M. de Talleyrand had been summoned to head-quarters by the emperor, in the expectation of treating for peace, and I was informed that his carriage stuck in the mud, and he was detained on his journey for twelve hours. A soldier having asked one of the persons in M. de Talleyrand's suite, who the traveller was, was informed that he was the minister for foreign affairs:—"Ah! bah!" said the soldier, "Why does he come with his diplomacy to such a devil of a country as this?"

The emperor entered Warsaw on the 1st of January. Most of the reports which he had received previous to his entrance, had concurred in describing the dissatisfaction of the troops, who, for some time, had had to contend with bad roads, bad weather, and all sorts of privations. Bonaparte said to the generals, who informed him that the enthusiasm of his troops had been succeeded by dejection and discontent:—"Does their spirit fail them when they come in sight of the enemy?"—"No, Sire."—"I knew it; my troops are always the same." Then turning to Rapp, he said: "I must rouse them;" and he dictated the following proclamation:

#### SOLDIERS,

It is a year this very hour since you were on the field of Austerlitz, where the Russian battalions fled in disorder, or surren-

dered up their arms to their conquerors. Next day proposals of peace were talked of; but they were deceptive. No sooner had the Russians escaped by, perhaps, blameable generosity, from the disasters of the third coalition, than they contrived a fourth. But the ally on whose tactics they founded their principal hope was no more. His capital, his fortresses, his magazines, his arsenals, two hundred and eighty flags, and two hundred field-pieces have fallen into our power. The Oder, the Wartha, the deserts of Poland, and the inclemency of the season, have not for a moment retarded your progress. You have braved all; surmounted all; every obstacle has fled at your approach. The Russians have in vain endeavoured to defend the capital of ancient and illustrious Poland. The French eagle hovers over the Vistula. The brave and unfortunate Poles, on beholding you, fancied they saw the legions of Sobiesky returning from their memorable expedition.

Soldiers, we will not lay down our arms until a general peace has secured the power of our allies, and restored to us our colonies and our freedom of trade. We have conquered on the Elbe and the Oder, Pondichery, our Indian establishments, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Spanish colonies. Why should the Russians have the right of thwarting our just designs? They and we are still the soldiers who fought at Austerlitz.\*

When Bonaparte dictated his proclamations—and how many have I not written from his dictation—he was for the

\* Rapp thus describes the entrance of the French into Warsaw, and adds a few amusing anecdotes connected with that event.

"At length we entered the Polish capital. The King of Naples had preceded us, and had driven the Russians from the city. Napoleon was received with enthusiasm. The Poles thought that the moment of their regeneration had arrived, and that their wishes were fulfilled. It would be difficult to describe the joy thus evinced, and the respect with which they treated us. The French troops, however, were not quite so well pleased; they manifested the greatest repugnance to crossing the Vistula. The idea of want and bad weather had inspired them with the greatest aversion to Poland, and they were inexhaustible in their jokes on the country.

"The French troops used to say that the four following words constituted the whole language of the Poles:—*Kleba? niema; woda? sara?* (some bread? there is none; some water? we will go and fetch it.) This was all that was to be heard in Poland. Napoleon one day passed by a column of infantry in the neighbourhood of Nasielsk, where the troops were suffering the greatest privations, on account of the mud, which prevented the arrival of provisions. 'Papa, kleba!' exclaimed a soldier. 'Niema,' replied the emperor. The whole column burst into a fit of laughter: they asked for nothing more.

"One evening at the theatre, when the curtain was very late of rising, a grenadier, who was among the spectators, became impatient at the delay. 'Begin!' he called out from the further end of the pit, 'begin directly, or I will not cross the Vistula.'—*Rapp's Memoirs*, p. 119. (E. Ed.)

moment inspired, and he evinced all the excitement which distinguishes the Italian Improvisatori. To follow him, it was necessary to write with inconceivable rapidity. When I have read over to him what he has dictated, I have often known him to smile triumphantly at the effect which he expected any particular phrase would produce. In general his proclamations turned on three distinct points—praising his soldiers for what they had done, pointing out to them what they had yet to do, and abusing his enemies. The proclamation to which I have just now alluded was circulated profusely through Germany, and it is impossible to conceive the effect it produced on the whole army. The corps stationed in the rear burned to pass, by forced marches, the space which still separated them from head-quarters; and those who were nearer the emperor, forgot their fatigues and privations, and were only anxious to encounter the enemy. They frequently could not understand what Napoleon said in these proclamations; but no matter for that: they would have followed him cheerfully barefooted and without provisions. Such was the enthusiasm, or rather the fanaticism, which Napoleon could inspire among his troops, when he thought proper to rouse them, as he termed it.

When, on a former occasion, I spoke of the Duke of Mecklenburgh-Schwerin, and his family, I forgot a circumstance relative to my intercourse with him, which now occurs to my memory. When, on his expulsion from his states, after the battle of Jena, he took refuge in Altona, he requested, through the medium of his minister at Hamburg, Count Plessen, that I would give him permission occasionally to visit that city. This permission I granted without hesitation; but the duke observed no precaution in his visits, and I made some observations to him on the subject. I knew the object of his visits. It was a secret connexion in Hamburg; but in consequence of my observations, he removed the lady to Altona, and assured me that he adopted that determination to avoid compromising me. He afterwards came very seldom to Hamburg; but as we were on the best understanding with Denmark, I frequently saw his daughter and son-in-law, who used to visit me at a house I had in Holstein, near Altona. There I likewise saw, almost every day, the Duke of Weimar, an excellent old man. I had the advantage of being on such terms of intimacy with him, that my house was in some measure his. He had also lost his states. I was so happy as to contribute to their restoration, for my situation enabled me to ex-

ercise some influence on the political indulgences or severities of the government. I entertained a sincere regard for the Duke of Weimar, and I greatly regretted his departure. No sooner had he arrived in Berlin, than he wrote me a letter of thanks, to which he added the present of a diamond, in token of his grateful remembrance of me. The Duke of Mecklenburgh was not so fortunate as the Duke of Weimar, in spite of his alliance with the reigning family of Denmark. He was obliged to remain at Altona until the July following; for his states were restored only by the treaty of Tilsit. As soon as it was known that the emperor had returned to Paris, the duke's son, the hereditary prince, visited me in Hamburg, and asked me whether I thought he could present himself to the emperor, for the purpose of expressing his own and his father's gratitude. He was a very well educated young man. He set out accompanied by M. Oertzen and Baron Brandstaten. Some time afterwards I saw his name in the *Môniteur*, in one of the lists of presentations to Napoleon, the collection of which, during the empire, might be regarded as a general register of the nobility of Europe.

It is commonly said that we may use ourselves to any thing, but to me this remark is subject to an exception; for in spite of the necessity to which I was reduced of employing spies, I never could surmount the disgust I felt at them, especially when I saw men destined to fill a respectable rank in society degrade themselves to that infamous profession. It is impossible to conceive the artifices to which these men resort to gain the confidence of those whom they wish to betray. Of this the following example just now occurs to my mind.

One of those wretches who are employed in certain circumstances, and by all parties, came to offer his services to me. His name was Butler, and he had been sent from England to the continent as a spy upon the French government. He immediately came to me, complained of pretended enemies and unjust treatment. He told me he had the greatest wish to serve the emperor, and that he would make any sacrifice to prove his fidelity. The real motive of his change of party was, as it is with all such men, merely the hope of a higher reward. Most extraordinary were the schemes he adopted to prevent his old employers from suspecting that he was serving new ones. To me he continually repeated how happy he was to be revenged on his enemies in London. He asked me to allow him to go to Paris to be examined by the minister of

the police. The better to keep up the deception, he requested, that on his arrival in Paris he might be confined in the Temple, and that there might be inserted in the English journals an announcement in the following terms: "John Butler, commonly called Count Butler, has just been arrested and sent to Paris under a good escort, by the French minister at Hamburg." At the expiration of a few weeks, Butler, having received his instructions, set out for London, but by way of precaution, he said it would be well to publish in the journals another announcement, which was as follows:—"John Butler, who has been arrested in Hamburg as an English agent, and conveyed to Paris, is ordered to quit France, and the territories occupied by the French armies and their allies, and not to appear there again until the general peace." In England Butler enjoyed the honours of French persecution. He was regarded as a victim who deserved all the confidence of the enemies of France. He furnished Fouché with a considerable deal of information, and he was fortunate enough to escape being hanged. Who indeed would not have been duped by such an imposition? Truly there are some crimes which only those who are guilty of them can suspect!

Notwithstanding the pretended necessity of employing secret agents, Bonaparte was unwilling, that even under that pretext, too many communications should be established between France and England. Meanwhile Fouché actively directed the evolutions of his secret army. Ever ready to seize on any thing that could give importance to the police, and encourage the suspicions of the emperor, Fouché wrote to me, that the government had received certain information, that many Frenchmen, travelling for commercial houses in France, were at Manchester purchasing articles of English manufacture. This was true; but how was it to be prevented. These travelling clerks passed through Holland, where they easily procured a passage to England.

Louis Bonaparte, conceiving that the King of Holland ought not to sacrifice the interests of his new subjects to the wishes of his brother, at first put in force very leniently the disastrous continental system. But at this Napoleon soon manifested his displeasure, and about the end of the year 1806, Louis was reduced to the necessity of ordering the strict observance of the blockade. The facility with which the travellers of French commercial houses passed from Holland to England gave rise to other alarms on the part of the French government. It was said, that since Frenchmen could so

easily pass from the continent to Great Britain, the agents of the English cabinet might, by the same means, find their way to the continent. Accordingly, the consuls were directed to keep a watchful eye, not only upon individuals who evidently came from England, but upon those who might by possibility come from that country. This plan was all very well, but how was it to be put into execution? . . . The continent was, nevertheless, inundated with articles of English manufacture, for this simple reason, that, however powerful may be the will of a sovereign, it is still less powerful, and less lasting, than the wants of a people. The continental system reminded me of the law created by an ancient legislator, who, for a crime which he conceived could not possibly be committed, condemned the person who should be guilty of it, to throw a bull across Mount Taurus.



## CHAPTER VII.

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Creation of the kingdom of Saxony—Veneration of Germany for the King of Saxony—The emperor's uncertainty respecting Poland—Fêtes and reviews at Warsaw—The French government at the emperor's head-quarters—Ministerial portfolios sent to Warsaw—Military preparations during the month of January—Difference of our situation during the campaigns of Vienna and Prussia—News received and sent—Conduct of the cabinet of Austria similar to that of the cabinet of Berlin—Battle of Eylau—Unjust accusation against Bernadotte—Death of General d'Hautpoult—Te Deum chanted by the Russians—Gardanne's mission to Persia—Abuse of military power—Defence of diplomatic rights—Marshal Brune.

It is not my design here to trace a picture of the state of Europe at the close of 1806. I will merely throw together a few facts which came to my knowledge at the time, and which I find in my correspondence. I have already mentioned that the emperor arrived at Warsaw on the 1st of January. During his stay at Posen, he had, by virtue of a treaty concluded with the Elector of Saxony, founded a new kingdom, and consequently extended his power in Germany, by the annexment of the kingdom of Saxony to the confederation of the Rhine. By the terms of this treaty, Saxony, so justly famed for her cavalry, was to furnish the emperor with a contingent of twenty thousand men and horses.

It was quite a new spectacle to the princes of Germany, all accustomed to old habits of etiquette, to see an upstart sovereign treat them as subjects, and even oblige them to consider themselves as such. Those famous Saxons, who had made Charlemagne tremble, threw themselves on the protection of the emperor; and the alliance of the head of the house of Saxony was not a matter of indifference to Napoleon; for the new king was, on account of his age, his tastes, and his character, more revered than any other German prince.

From the moment of Napoleon's arrival at Warsaw, until

the commencement of hostilities against the Russians, he was continually solicited to re-establish the throne of Poland, and to restore its chivalrous independance to the ancient empire of the Jagellons. A person who was at that time in Warsaw told me, that the emperor was in the greatest uncertainty as to what he should do respecting Poland. He was entreated to re-establish that ancient and heroic kingdom; but he came to no decision, preferring, according to custom, to submit to events that he might appear to command them. At Warsaw, indeed, the emperor passed a great part of his time in fêtes and reviews, which, however, did not prevent him from watching, with his eagle eye, every department of the public service, both interior and exterior.\* He himself was in the capital of Poland; but his vast influence was present everywhere. I heard Duroc say, when we were conversing together about the campaign of Tilsit, that Napoleon's activity and intelligence were never more conspicuously developed.

One very remarkable feature of the imperial wars was, that with the exception of the interior police, of which Fouché was the soul, the whole government of France was at the headquarters of the emperor. At Warsaw, Napoleon's attention was not only occupied with the affairs of his army, but he directed the whole machinery of the French government just the same as if he had been in Paris. Daily estafettes, and frequently the useless auditors of the council of state, brought

\* "Our halt at Warsaw was delightful. With the exception of theatres, the city presented all the gaieties of Paris. Twice a week the emperor gave a concert; after which a court was held, which led again to numerous meetings in private parties. On these occasions, the personal beauty and graceful manners of the Polish ladies were conspicuous. It may truly be said that they excited the jealousy of the most charming women of other nations. With the most polished elegance they combine a fund of information, which is not usually found even among Frenchwomen; and they are very superior to the generality of females bred in cities, to whom habit renders company almost a necessary of life. The Polish ladies of rank always pass one half of the year in the country, where probably they apply themselves to reading and the cultivation of their minds; and they return to spend the winter-season in the capital, graced with those talents and accomplishments which render them so peculiarly attractive.

"The emperor and all the French officers paid their tribute of admiration to the charms of the fair Poles. There was one whose powerful fascinations made a deep impression on the emperor's heart. He conceived an ardent affection for her, which she cordially returned. She received with pride the homage of a conquest which was the consummation of her happiness. It is needless to name her, when I observe that her attachment remained unshaken amidst every danger, and that, at the period of Napoleon's reverses, she continued his faithful friend."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo*, vol. ii. part I. p. 17. (E. Ed.)

him reports more or less correct, and curious disclosures, which were frequently the invention of the police. The portfolios of the ministers arrived every week, with the exception of those of the minister for foreign affairs, and the minister of the war department; the former had first stopped at Mentz with the empress, but had been called to Warsaw; and the latter, Clarke, was, for the misfortune of Berlin, governor of that city. This state of things lasted during the ten months of the emperor's absence from Paris. Louis XIV. said: "I am myself the State." Napoleon did not say this; but, in fact, under his reign the government of France was always at his head-quarters. This circumstance had well nigh proved fatal to him, on the occasion of the extraordinary conspiracy of Mallet, with some points of which I alone, perhaps, am thoroughly acquainted. The emperor employed the month of January in military preparations for the approaching attack of the Russians, but at the same time he did not neglect the business of the cabinet: with him nothing was suffered to linger in the rear.

While Napoleon was at Warsaw, a battle was not the only thing to be thought about; affairs were much more complicated than during the campaign of Vienna. It was necessary, on the one hand, to observe Prussia, which was occupied; and on the other, to anticipate the Russians, whose movements indicated that they were inclined to strike the first blow. In the preceding campaign, Austria, before the taking of Vienna, was alone engaged. The case was different now: Austria had had only soldiers; and Prussia, as Blucher informed me, was beginning to have citizens. There was no difficulty in returning from Vienna, but a great deal in returning from Warsaw, in case of failure, notwithstanding the creation of the kingdom of Saxony, and the provisional government given to Prussia, and to the other states of Germany which we had conquered. None of these considerations escaped the penetration of Napoleon: nothing was omitted in the notes, letters, and official correspondence which came to me from all quarters. Receiving, as I did, accurate information from my own correspondents of all that was passing in Germany, it often happened that I transmitted to the government the same news which it transmitted to me, not supposing that I previously knew it. Thus, for example, I thought I was apprising the government of the arming of Austria, of which I received information from head-quarters a few days after.

During the Prussian campaign, Austria precisely played the

game which Prussia had played during the campaign of Austria. There was indecision on the one part, and indecision on the other. As Prussia had, before the battle of Austerlitz, awaited the success or defeat of the French, to decide whether she should remain neutral, or declare herself against France; so Austria, doubtless supposing that Russia would be more fortunate as the ally of Prussia, than she had been as her ally, assembled a corps of 40,000 men in Bohemia. That corps was called an army of observation; but the nature of these armies of observation is well known; they belong to the class of armed neutralities, like the ingenious invention of sanitary cordons. The fact is, that the 40,000 men assembled in Bohemia were destined to aid and assist the Russians in case they should be successful: and what reasonable man can blame the Austrian government for wishing for a vengeance which would wash away the shame of the treaty of Presburgh. Napoleon had not a moment to lose, but his activity required no spur: he had hastened the battle of Austerlitz to anticipate Prussia, and he now found it necessary to anticipate Russia, in order to keep Austria in a state of indecision.

The emperor, therefore, left Warsaw about the end of January, and immediately gave orders for engaging the Russian army in the beginning of February; but, in spite of his desire of commencing the attack, he was anticipated. On the 8th of February, at seven in the morning, he was attacked by the Russians, who advanced during a terrible storm of snow, which fell in large flakes. They approached Preussich-Eylau, where the emperor was, and the imperial guard stopped the Russian column. Nearly the whole French army was engaged in that battle, one of the most sanguinary ever fought in Europe. The corps commanded by Bernadotte was not engaged in the contest: it had been stationed on the left at Mohrungen, whence it menaced Dantzic. The issue of the battle would have been very different, had the four divisions of infantry, and the two of cavalry, composing Bernadotte's army corps, arrived in time; but, unfortunately, the officer instructed to convey orders to Bernadotte to march without delay on Preussich-Eylau, was taken by a body of Cossacks: Bernadotte, therefore, did not arrive. Bonaparte, who always liked to throw blame on some one if things did not turn out exactly as he wished, attributed the doubtful success of the day to the absence of Bernadotte: in this he was right; but to make that absence a reproach to the marshal was a gross injustice. Bernadotte was accused of not having been willing to march

on Preussich-Eylau, though, as it was alleged, General d'Hautpoult had informed him of the necessity of his presence. But how could that fact be ascertained, since General d'Hautpoult was among the killed?

Those who knew Bonaparte, his cunning, and the artful advantage he would sometimes take of words, which he attributed to the dead, will easily solve the enigma. The battle of Eylau was terrible:—night came on—Bernadotte's corps was constantly, but in vain, expected; and, after a considerable loss, the French army had the melancholy honour of passing the night on the field of battle. Bernadotte at length arrived, but too late. He met the enemy, who were retreating, without the fear of being molested, towards Koningsberg, the only capital remaining to Prussia. The King of Prussia was then at Memel, a small port on the Baltic, thirty leagues from Koningsberg.

After the battle of Eylau, both sides remained stationary; and several days elapsed without any thing remarkable taking place. The offers of peace made by the emperor, with very little earnestness it is true, were disdainfully rejected, as if a victory disputed with Napoleon was to be regarded as a triumph. The battle of Eylau seemed to turn the heads of the Russians, who chanted "Te Deum" on the occasion. But while the emperor was making preparations to advance, his diplomacy was taking effect in a distant quarter, and raising up against Russia an old and formidable enemy. Turkey declared war against her. This was a powerful diversion, and obliged Russia to strip her western frontiers to secure a line of defence on the south.

Some time after General Gardanne set out on the famous embassy to Persia; for which the way had been paved by the success of the mission of my friend, Amédée Jaubert. This embassy was not merely one of those pompous legations, such as Charlemagne, Louis XIV., and Louis XVI., received from the Empress Irene, the King of Siam, and Tippoo Saib. It was connected with ideas which Bonaparte had conceived at the very dawn of his power. It was, indeed, the light from the East which first enabled him to see his greatness in perspective; and that light never ceased to fix his attention, and dazzle his imagination. I know well that Gardanne's embassy was, at first, conceived on a much grander scale than that on which it was executed. Napoleon had resolved to send to the Shah of Persia four thousand infantry, commanded by chosen and experienced officers; ten thousand muskets, and fifty pieces of

cannon ; and I also know that orders were given for the execution of this design. The avowed object of the emperor was to enable the Shah of Persia to make an important diversion, with eighty thousand men, in the eastern provinces of Russia. But there was likewise another, an old and constant object, which was always uppermost in Napoleon's mind, namely, the wish to strike England in the very heart of her Asiatic possessions. Such was the principal motive of Gardanne's mission, but circumstances did not permit the emperor to give it all the importance he desired. He contented himself with sending a few officers of engineers and artillery to Persia, who, on their arrival, were astonished at the number of English they found there.

Meanwhile the internal affairs of the towns over which my diplomatic jurisdiction extended soon gave me more employment than ever. The greatest misfortune of the empire was, perhaps, the abuse of the right arrogated by the wearers of epaulettes. My situation gave me an opportunity of observing all the odious character of a military government. Another, in my place, could not have done all that I did. I say this confidently ; for my situation was a distinct and independent one, as Bonaparte had told me. Being authorized to correspond directly with the emperor, the military chiefs feared, if they did not yield to my just representations, that I would make private reports : this apprehension was wonderfully useful in enabling me to maintain the rights of the towns, which had adopted me as their first citizen.

A circumstance occurred in which I had to defend the rights of the diplomatic and commercial agents against the pretensions of military power. Marshal Brune, during his government at Hamburg, went to Bremen, to watch the strict execution of the illusive blockade against England. The marshal, acting, no doubt, in conformity with the instructions of Clarke, then minister of war, and governor of Berlin, wished to arrogate the right of deciding on the captures made by our cruisers.

He attempted to prevent the consul Lagau from selling the confiscated ships, in order to sell them himself. Of this M. Lagau complained to me. The more I observed a disposition to encroach on the part of the military authorities, the more I conceived it necessary to maintain the rights of the consuls, and to favour their influence, without which they would have lost their consideration. To the complaints of M. Lagau, I replied :—" That to him alone belonged the right of

deciding, in the first instance, on the fate of the ships : that he could not be deprived of that right without changing the law : that he was free to sell the confiscated Prussian ships : that Marshal Brune was at Bremen only for the execution of the decree respecting the blockade of England, and that he ought not to interfere in business unconnected with that decree." Lagau showed this letter to Brune, who then allowed him to do as he wished ; but it was an affair of profit, and the marshal, for a long time, owed me a grudge.

Bernadotte was exceedingly disinterested ; but he loved to be talked about. The more the emperor endeavoured to throw accusations upon him, the more he was anxious to give publicity to all his actions. He sent to me an account of the brilliant affair of Braunsburg, in which a division of the first corps had been particularly distinguished. Along with this narrative, he sent me a note in the following terms : " I send you, my dear minister, an account of the affair of Braunsburg. You will, perhaps, think proper to publish it. In that case, I shall be obliged to you to get it inserted in the Hamburg journals." I did so. The injustice of the emperor, and the bad way in which he spoke of Bernadotte, obliged the latter, for the sake of his own credit, to make known the truth.

## CHAPTER IX.

Army supplies—English cloth and leather—M. de Gimel's successor—Double appointment at London and Mittau—M. Hue, valet-de-chambre of Louis XVI.—Arrest on a charge of libel—M. Hue's arrival at Altona—Fresh arrivals of emigrants—Baron d'Imbert and General Danican—Colonel de Blacas in the Swedish service—Command accepted by Dumouriez—Despatch from M. de Talleyrand—A page of Napoleon's glory—Interview between the two emperors at Tilsit—Silesia restored to the Queen of Prussia—The Prince of Wittgenstein—Commercial treaty between England and Russia—Mediation of Russia offered to England—Reply of Mr. Canning—The Prince of Wales and Mr. Canning favourable to peace—Unfortunate situation of Prussia—Impossibility of re-establishing Poland in 1807—Foundation of the kingdom of Westphalia—The grand duchy of Warsaw and the King of Saxony.

I HAVE mentioned that I received an order from the emperor to supply fifty thousand cloaks for the army. With this order, which was not the only one I received of the same kind, some circumstances were connected, which I may take the present opportunity of explaining.

The emperor gave me so many orders for army clothing, that all that could be supplied by the cities of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck, would have been insufficient for executing the commissions. I entered into a treaty with a house in Hamburg, which I authorized, in spite of the decree of Berlin, to bring cloth and leather from England. Thus I procured these articles in a sure and cheap way. Our troops might have perished of cold, had the continental system, and the absurd mass of inexecutable decrees relative to English merchandise, been observed.

At the beginning of 1807, my occupations at Hamburg were divided between the furnishing of supplies for the army, and the inspection of the emigrants whom Fouché pretended to dread, in order to give greater importance to his office. M. de Gimel was now dead. I had informed Fouché of that



event, and he desired me to send him all the information I could collect respecting the individual who might be appointed M. de Gimel's successor. M. de la Chapelle made choice of M. Maillard, and as soon as I ascertained this fact, I sent to Fouché a description of M. Maillard, whose portrait could not possibly have been flattered without depriving it of all resemblance. I had learned, by a letter from Count Dumoustier, who was then in England, that Maillard had been commander of the gendarmerie at Valenciennes, and prévôt of the army of Condé. Count Dumoustier had described him as a brutal, obstinate, and exceedingly narrow-minded man, and he finished his portrait with the following remark: "The king's cause must be desperate indeed, when such fellows are chosen to support it." M. Maillard was sent from London to Altona to succeed M. de Gimel as agent of the emigrants; but at the same time Louis XVIII. had given the appointment to M. Grémion, an inhabitant of Holstein. However, both these nominations were merely provisional, and I ascertained that M. Hue was definitively appointed to succeed M. de Gimel as agent for the emigrants. M. Hue was expected at Altona in the beginning of May. He was that faithful servant of Louis XVI. who shared his master's captivity, and to whom honourable immortality is bequeathed in the will of the unfortunate sovereign. His name must have recalled strange recollections to Fouché, who wished that I should be doubly vigilant. His distrust, real or feigned, of the emigrants, was such, that he more than once directed me to keep watch upon persons who were very far from supposing themselves to be objects of the slightest suspicion.

I never let slip an opportunity of mitigating the rigour of Fouché's orders, which, indeed, were sometimes so absurd, that I did not attempt to execute them. Of this the following instance just now occurs to my recollection: A printer at Hamburg had been arrested on the charge of having printed a libel in the German language. The man was detained in prison because, very much to his honour, he would not disclose the name of the writer of the pamphlet. I sent for him and questioned him: he told me, with every appearance of sincerity, that he had never but once seen the man who had brought him the manuscript. I was convinced of the truth of what he said, and I gave an order for his liberation. To avoid irritating the susceptibility of the minister of police, I wrote to him the following few lines: "The libel is the most miserable rhapsody imaginable. The author, probably with the view

of selling his pamphlet in Holstein, predicts that Denmark will conquer every other nation, and become the greatest kingdom in the world. This trait alone will suffice to prove to you how little danger there is in fooleries, written in the style of the Apocalypse."

M. Hue was expected at Altona in the beginning of May, but he did not arrive until the 20th. He had left London on the 15th. I was assured that several emigrants had taken the opportunity of coming with him on board the packet-boat. This was true, and some emigrants arrived, who were by no means the most select of that body. Among them was a Baron d'Imbert, who was accompanied by a Sieur Louis, his secretary, and MM. Barthélemy and Plagnés. In a list which Fouché had sent me, Barthélemy was designated as a clerk, on board the corvette *Tantelen*, and Plagnés as an officer in the marines. D'Imbert maintained that he had been banished from England with the three individuals who accompanied him, on account of a demand of 5000*l.* which he had made upon Mr. Cooke, one of the under secretaries of state, on account of advances to agents whom he, d'Imbert, had sent to France in obedience to the instructions of the English ministry. D'Imbert added, that it had been found convenient to evade the payment of this sum by banishing him. I indeed saw it stated in the English journals at the time, that two French emigrants, Martello and Dublin, were arrested in London, and that thirty emigrants were about to be sent from England. Among the latter appeared the name of Baron d'Imbert and also of General Danican, who opposed the convention and led the sections who were termed rebels, on the 13th Vendémiaire. It is well known how Danican fell beneath the tact and boldness of the young General Bonaparte. He escaped, by flight, sentence of contumacy pronounced upon him by a court-martial. He afterwards became a constant, though not a very able, agent of the royalists. On the 20th of May, Danican arrived at Altona from London. As it was alleged that he would certainly come to Hamburg to see one of his friends, I sent a description of him to the commander of the gendarmerie.

Danican said he was going to Sweden, whither he had been summoned by the king, who was making every exertion to recruit the enemies of France. He had seen the German Legion embark. Twenty men belonging to that legion had attempted to escape, and had been conveyed to London in irons. According to the account given by Danican, the legion was more favourable to the French than to the English. I also learned

from Danican, who related all these circumstances at his inn, in the presence of some one who reported them to me, that the *Sieur Derolle*, a man in the confidence of the Count d'Artois, having swindled 30,000 francs of the property left by *Pichegru*, and being prosecuted for that offence by Count de la Chapelle, division was sown in the party, because Count d'Artois wished to defend his favourite. Danican made, on the part of the English government, some propositions to the *Sieur Belcombe* (the *Abbé Delamarre*). The latter rejected them, saying, "What reliance can be placed on a government who chooses *Fauche-Borel* as its confidential agent?" This was in allusion to what Danican had said to him some months before, viz., that Mr. Hammond saw only with the eyes of *Fauche-Borel*, and acted only by his counsels.

Danican came once to Hamburg, but the gendarmes missed him, and took another Frenchman for him. He returned to England on the 29th of July. I do not know what prevented him going to the King of Sweden, as he announced his intention of doing. In his furious animosity against *Monsieur Bonaparte*, the King of Sweden published all his communications with the Bourbons. I read in a bulletin, dated Stralsund, "Colonel Count de Blacas, sent on a special mission from Louis XVIII., has arrived here from Mittau, and this day had an audience of his majesty."

Among the newly-arrived emigrants there was another, who, from the part he had played at the commencement of the revolution, possessed a degree of importance different from that of Baron d'Imbert and General Danican. He has been frequently mentioned in the course of these memoirs. I allude to *Dumouriez*. That general had, for a long time, been commander-in-chief in a pamphlet war against the French government, and he at length determined to take up the arms he had formerly borne. One of my agents in London informed me, that, after a great deal of tergiversation, *Dumouriez* had accepted the command of the Swedish troops which were to be landed at Stralsund, and to which was to be joined the Hanoverian Legion, then at sea. But, during all this hesitation, Napoleon, who never hesitated, was advancing by giant strides, though not without considerable difficulty, on the confines of Russia, while his able lieutenants were conquering provinces in the north of Prussia on an immense line of operations.

After the battle of Eylau, I received from M. Talleyrand a despatch, to which was added an account in French of that memorable battle, which was more fatal to the conqueror than

to the other party; I cannot say the conquered in speaking of the Russians, the more especially when I recollect the precautions which were then taken throughout Germany to make known the French before the Russian version. The emperor was exceedingly anxious that every one should view that event as he himself viewed it. Other accounts than his might have produced an unfavourable impression in the north. I therefore had orders to publish that account. I caused two thousand copies of it to be published, which were more than sufficient for circulation in the Hanse Towns and their territories.

The reader will perhaps complain that I have been almost silent with respect to the grand manœuvres of the French army from the battle of Eylau to that of Friedland, where, at all events, our success was indisputable. There was no necessity for printing favourable versions of that event, and, besides, its immense results were soon felt throughout Europe. The interview at Tilsit is one of the culminating points of modern history, and the waters of the Niemen reflected the image of Napoleon at the height of his glory. The interview between the two emperors at Tilsit, and the melancholy situation of the King of Prussia, are generally known. I was made acquainted with but few secret details relative to those events; for Rapp had gone to Dantzic, and it was he who most readily communicated to me all that the emperor said and did, and all that was passing around him.\*

\* Savary gives the following interesting account of the interview between Napoleon and Alexander, at Tilsit:

"The Emperor Napoleon, whose courtesy was manifest in all his actions, ordered a large raft to be floated in the middle of the river, upon which was constructed a room well covered in and elegantly decorated, having two doors on opposite sides, each of which opened into an ante-chamber. The work could not have been better executed in Paris. The roof was surmounted by two weathercocks; one displaying the eagle of Russia, and the other the eagle of France. The two outer doors were also surmounted by the eagles of the two countries.

"The raft was precisely in the middle of the river, with the two doors of the saloon facing the two opposite banks.

"The two sovereigns appeared on the banks of the river, and embarked at the same moment. But the Emperor Napoleon, having a good boat manned by marines of the guard, arrived first on the raft, entered the room, and went to the opposite door, which he opened, and then stationed himself on the edge of the raft to receive the Emperor Alexander, who had not yet arrived, not having such good rowers as the Emperor Napoleon.

"The two emperors met in the most amicable way, at least to all appearance. They remained together for a considerable time, and then took leave of each other with as friendly an air as that with which they had met.

"Next day the Emperor of Russia established himself at Tilsit with a battalion of his guard. Orders were given for evacuating that part of the

I, however, learned one circumstance peculiarly worthy of remark, which occurred in the emperor's apartments at Tilsit, the first time he received a visit from the King of Prussia. That unfortunate monarch, who was accompanied by Queen Wilhelmina, had taken refuge in a mill beyond the town. This was his sole habitation, whilst the emperors occupied the two portions of the town, which is divided by the Niemen. The fact I am about to relate reached me indirectly through the medium of an officer of the imperial guard, who was on duty in Napoleon's apartments and was an eyewitness of it. When the Emperor Alexander visited Napoleon, they continued for a long time in conversation on a balcony below, where an immense crowd hailed their meeting with enthusiastic shouts. Napoleon commenced the conversation, as he did the year preceding with the Emperor of Austria, by speaking of the uncertain fate of war. Whilst they were conversing, the King of Prussia was announced. The king's emotion was visible, and may easily be imagined, for as hostilities were suspended, and his territory in possession of the French, his only hope was in the generosity of the conqueror. Napoleon himself, it is said, appeared moved by his situation, and invited him, together with the queen, to dinner. On sitting down to table, Napoleon with great gallantry told the beautiful queen that he would restore to her Silesia, a province which she earnestly wished should be retained in the new arrangements which were necessarily about to take place.\*

I was intimately acquainted with the Prince of Wittgen-

town where he and his battalion were to be quartered; and though we were very much pressed for room, no encroachment on the space allotted to the Russians was thought of.

"On the day the Emperor Alexander entered Tilsit, the whole army was under arms. The imperial guard was drawn out in two lines of three deep from the landing-place to the Emperor Napoleon's quarters, and from thence to the quarters of the Emperor of Russia. A salute of one hundred guns was fired the moment Alexander stepped ashore, on the spot where the Emperor Napoleon was waiting to receive him. The latter carried his attention to his visitor so far, as to send from his quarters the furniture for Alexander's bedchamber. Among the articles sent was a camp-bed belonging to the emperor, which he presented to Alexander, who appeared much pleased with the gift.

"This meeting, the first which history records of the same kind and of equal importance, attracted visitors to Tilsit from a hundred leagues round. M. de Talleyrand arrived, and after the observance of the usual ceremonies, business began to be discussed."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo*, vol. ii. part I. p. 75. (E. Ed.)

\* Las Cases mentions that, at the time of the treaty of Tilsit, Napoleon wrote to the Empress Josephine as follows:

"The Queen of Prussia is really a charming woman. She is fond of coquetting with me; but do not be jealous: I am like a cerecloth, along

stein, during his residence at Hamburg. Without having any apparent mission, he nevertheless enjoyed all the confidence of the King of Prussia, to whom, on many occasions, his political talents and excellent advice were of great service. During the summer of 1807, the Prince of Wittgenstein proceeded to England. On his return he visited me, and informed me that a Russian courier from Taurroggen had arrived in London on the 30th of July, with very important despatches for M. Alopæus, the Russian minister in England. One of these despatches, which the Prince of Wittgenstein assured me he had read, stated, that there had not been sufficient time for sending copies of the treaties which had been signed at Tilsit. On the same day M. Alopæus despatched a courier to Russia with the commercial treaty which he had concluded and signed. I may here mention a circumstance connected with this commercial treaty between England and Russia, not, certainly, because the treaty is now of the slightest interest, but because the anecdote presents a striking example of British policy. The treaty was the same which M. Alopæus had proposed on his arrival in London at the beginning of March. At that time the English cabinet would not listen to it: but according as intelligence of the success of the French army reached London, the ministry yielded. Every fresh victory was followed by a new concession, until at length the treaty was concluded in the terms on which Russia had proposed. The Prince of Wittgenstein gave me some further particulars respecting what he had seen or learned in England. The day after M. Alopæus received from Tilsit the laconic despatch to which I have alluded, he formally offered to the court of London the mediation of Russia to effect the conclusion of a treaty of peace between France and England, preparatory to the re-establishment of a general peace. On the 1st of August, a grand council was held at Windsor, at which George III. was present. Two days after, Mr. Canning replied to M. Alopæus, but verbally, and every one knows the difference which exists in diplomatic transactions between writing and speaking. Mr.

which every thing of this sort slides, without penetrating. It would cost me too dear to play the gallant.'

"On this subject, an anecdote was related in the saloon of Josephine. It was said that the Queen of Prussia one day had a beautiful rose in her hand, which the emperor asked her to give him. The queen hesitated for a few moments, and then presented it to him, saying, 'Why should I so readily grant what you request, while you remain deaf to all my entreaties?' She alluded to the fortress of Magdeburg, which she had earnestly solicited."—*Mémoires de St. Hélène*, vol. i. p. 48. (E. Ed.)

Canning's reply was, "that the court of London would accept the mediation of Russia, but on condition of being furnished with copies of the public and private treaties, in order that the King of England might satisfy himself that they contained no stipulations contrary to the interests of his crown and his people." Mr. Canning added, "that as Austria had, previously to the commencement of the campaign, offered to mediate between the hostile powers, it would be proper that she should act in concert with Russia in the mediation now proposed—a proceeding which would be the more suitable on the part of Austria, as she herself had voluntarily suggested it." On the 19th of August, M. Alopecus despatched a courier to St. Petersburg with Mr. Canning's verbal answer.

Mr. Canning besides declared to M. Jacobi, the Prussian ambassador at London, "that the King of England deplored the misfortunes which had befallen his master; that he felt the greatest concern for him; but that, as the Prussian ports were closed against English ships, the interests of his people, and the honour of his flag, compelled him to adopt hostile measures against Prussia." Prince Wittgenstein, in addition to these particulars, informed me that the Prince of Wales, and especially Mr. Canning, strongly urged the necessity of peace; and that the majority of the English nation earnestly desired it. Under these circumstances how unfortunate was the situation of Prussia! and could any thing be more cruel on the part of the English government than to threaten Prussia with hostilities, because she had not opened her ports to British ships? Thus the two powers who so bitterly hated each other, seemed to agree upon one point; namely, the spoliation of Prussia. France occupied all her continental territory, and England coveted her seaports, in revenge for mishaps which it was impossible to attribute to any other cause than the inflexible law of necessity.

The treaty of peace concluded at Tilsit, between France and Russia, on the 7th of July, and ratified two days after, produced no less striking a change in the geographical division of Europe, than had been effected the year preceding by the treaty of Presburg. The treaty of Tilsit contained no stipulation dishonourable to Russia, whose territory was preserved inviolate; but how was Prussia treated! Some historians, for the vain pleasure of flattering, by posthumous praises, the pretended moderation of Napoleon, have almost reproached him for having suffered some remnants of the monarchy of the great Frederick to survive. There is, nevertheless, a point on

which Napoleon has been wrongfully condemned, at least with reference to the campaign of 1807. It has been said that he should, at that period, have re-established the kingdom of Poland : and certainly, there is every reason to regret, for the interests of France and Europe, that it was not re-established. But when a desire, even founded on reason, is not carried into effect, should we conclude that the wished-for object ought to be achieved in defiance of all obstacles ? At that time, that is to say, during the campaign of Tilsit, insurmountable obstacles existed.

If, however, by the treaty of Tilsit, the throne of Poland was not restored to serve as a barrier between old Europe and the empire of the czars, Napoleon founded a kingdom of Westphalia, which he gave to the young *Enseigne de Vaisseau*, whom he had scolded as a schoolboy, and whom he now made a king, that he might have another crowned prefect under his controul. The kingdom of Westphalia was composed of the states of Hesse-Cassel ; of a part of the provinces taken from Prussia by the *moderation* of the emperor, and of the states of Paderborn, Fulde, Brunswick, and a part of the electorate of Hanover. Napoleon, at the same time, though he did not like to do things by halves, to avoid touching the Russian and Austrian provinces of old Poland, planted on the banks of the Vistula, the grand duchy of Warsaw, which he gave to the King of Saxony, with the intention of increasing or destroying it afterwards as he might find convenient. Thus he allowed the Poles to hope for better for the future ; and ensured to himself partisans in the north, should the chances of fortune call him thither. Alexander, who was secured even more than his father had been, by what I may call the political coquetry of Napoleon, consented to all these arrangements, acknowledged, *in globo*, all the kings crowned by the emperor, and accepted some provinces which had belonged to his despoiled ally, doubtless by way of consolation for not having been able to get more restored to him. The two emperors parted the best friends in the world ; but the continental system was still in existence.



## CHAPTER X.

Effect produced at Altona by the treaty of Tilsit—The Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin's departure from Hamburg—English squadron in the Sound—Bombardment of Copenhagen—Perfidy of England—Remark of Bonaparte to M. Lemer cier—Prussia erased from the map—Napoleon's return to Paris—Suppression of the tribunate—Obstinacy of Mustapha-Baraictar—Confiscation of English merchandise—Nine millions gained to France—M. Caulincourt ambassador to Russia—Repugnance of England to the intervention of Russia—Affairs of Portugal—Junot appointed to command the army—The prince regent's departure for the Brazils—Heligoland taken by the English—M. Hue threatened with arrest—The Code Napoleon—Introduction of French laws into Germany—Leniency of Hamburg juries—The stolen cloak and the syndic Doormann.

THE treaty of Tilsit, as soon as it was known at Altona, spread consternation amongst the emigrants. As to the German princes, who were awaiting the issue of events, either at Altona or Hamburg, when they learned that a definitive treaty of peace had been signed between France and Russia, and that, two days after the treaty of Tilsit, the Prussian monarchy was placed at the mercy of Napoleon, every courier that arrived threw them into indescribable agitation. It depended on the emperor's will whether they were to be, or not to be. The Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin had not succeeded in getting himself re-established in his states, by an exceptional decision, like the Duke of Weimar; but at length he obtained the restitution of his territory, at the request of the Emperor Alexander; and on the 28th of July he quitted Hamburg to return to his duchy.

The Danish chargé-d'affaires communicated to me, about the same time, an official report from his government. This report announced, that on Monday, the 3d of August, a squadron, consisting of twelve ships of the line, and twelve frigates, commanded by Admiral Gambier, had passed the Sound. The

rest of the squadron was seen in the Categat. At the same time the English troops, which were in the island of Rugen, had re-embarked. We could not then conceive what enterprise this considerable force had been sent upon. But our uncertainty was soon at an end. M. Didelot, the French ambassador at Copenhagen, arrived at Hamburg, at nine o'clock in the evening of the 12th of August. He had been fortunate enough to pass through the Great Belt, in sight of the English, without being stopped. I forwarded his report to Paris by an extraordinary courier.

The English had sent twenty thousand men, and twenty-seven vessels, into the Baltic; Lord Cathcart commanded the troops. The coast of Zealand was blockaded by ninety vessels. Mr. Jackson, who had been sent by England to negotiate with Denmark, which she feared would be invaded by the French troops, supported the propositions he was charged to offer to Denmark, by a reference to this powerful British force. Mr. Jackson's proposals had for their object nothing less than to induce the King of Denmark to place, in the custody of England, the whole of his ships and naval stores. They were, it is true, to be kept in deposit; but the condition contained the word "until," which rendered the period of their restoration uncertain. They were to be detained until the period when such precautions should be no longer necessary. A menace, and its execution, followed close upon this insolent demand. After a noble, but useless resistance, and a terrific bombardment, Copenhagen surrendered, and the Danish fleet was destroyed. It would be difficult to find in history a more infamous and revolting instance of the abuse of power against weakness. Sometime after this event, a pamphlet, entitled "*Germania*," appeared, which I translated, and sent to the emperor. It was eloquently written, and expressed the indignation which the infamous conduct of England had excited in the author as in every one else.\*

\* "That expedition," said Napoleon at St. Helena, "showed great energy on the part of your ministers: but setting aside the violation of the laws of nations which you committed—for, in fact, it was nothing but a robbery—I think that it was injurious to your interests, as it made the Danish nation irreconcilable enemies to you, and, in fact, shut you out of the north for three years. When I heard of it, I said, I am glad of it, as it will embroil England irrecoverably with the northern powers. The Danes being able to join me with sixteen sail of the line was of but little consequence. I had plenty of ships, and only wanted seamen, whom you did not take, and whom I obtained afterwards: while by the expedition your ministers established their characters as faithless, and as persons with whom no engagements, no laws, were binding."—*Voice from St. Helena*, vol. i. (E. Ed.)

I have stated what were the principal consequences of the treaty of Tilsit: it is more than probable, that if the bombardment of Copenhagen had preceded the treaty, the emperor would have used Prussia even worse than he did. He might have erased her from the list of powers; but he did not do so, from regard to the Emperor Alexander. The destruction of Prussia was not a new project with Bonaparte. I remember an observation of his to M. Lemercier upon that subject, when we first went to reside at Malmaison. M. Lemercier had been reading to the first consul some poem in which Frederick the Great was spoken of: "You seem to admire him greatly," said Bonaparte to M. Lemercier: "what do you find in him so astonishing? He is not equal to Turenne."—"General," replied M. Lemercier, "it is not merely the warrior that I esteem in Frederick; but it is impossible to refrain from admiring a man who was a philosopher even on the throne." To this the first consul replied, in a half-ill-humoured tone, "Certainly, Lemercier; but Frederick's philosophy shall not prevent me from erasing his kingdom from the map of Europe." The kingdom of Frederick the Great was not, however, obliterated from the map, because the Emperor of Russia would not basely abandon a faithful ally, who had incurred with him the chances of fortune. Prussia then had to lament the tergiversations which had prevented her from declaring herself against France during the campaign of Austerlitz.

Napoleon returned to Paris about the end of July, after an absence of ten months, the longest he had yet made since he had been at the head of the French government, whether as consul or emperor. The interview at Tilsit, the Emperor Alexander's friendship, which was spoken of every where in terms of exaggeration, and the peace established on the continent, conferred on Napoleon a moral influence in public opinion, which he had not possessed since his coronation. Constant in his hatred of deliberative assemblies, which he had often termed collections of babblers, ideologists, and phrasemongers, Napoleon, on his return to Paris, suppressed the tribunate, which had been an annoyance to him from the day of his elevation. The emperor, who was skilful above all men in speculating on the favourable disposition of opinion, availed himself at this conjuncture of the enthusiasm produced by his interview on the Niemen. He, therefore, discarded from the fundamental institutions of the government, that which still retained the shadow of a popular character. But it was neces-

sary that he should possess a senate merely to vote men ; a mute legislative body to vote money : that there should be no opposition in the one, and no criticism in the other ; no control over him of any description ; the power of arbitrarily doing whatever he pleased ; an enslaved press :—this was what Napoleon wished, and this he obtained. But the month of March, 1814, resolved the question of absolute power.

In the midst of the singularly complicated situation of affairs in Europe, after the peace of Tilsit, it was not a little surprising to observe how the emperor's influence with the grand seignior had diminished. After he had succeeded so well in arming Turkey against Russia, he failed in his attempt to restore the good understanding he had interrupted. Every endeavour for this purpose, during the ephemeral reign of Mustapha-Baraictar, was useless. Guilleminot could not appease the storm which Sebastiani had conjured up, and the Turks determined to continue in a state of war with Russia. The emperor had promised Alexander to use his utmost exertions to restore peace. To prove his sincerity, he gave Guilleminot orders to that effect, but all in vain. Mustapha proved inflexible. The war continued, and soon became more complicated, when the emperor's evil star led him to take part in the fatal affairs of Spain. Distant as I was from the scene, I obtained some curious information, which I will relate with confidence, having no reason to doubt the purity of the source whence I obtained them.

In the midst of these great affairs, and while Napoleon was dreaming of universal monarchy, I beheld, in a less extensive sphere, the inevitable consequences of the ambition of a single man. Pillage and robbery were carried on in all parts over which my diplomatic jurisdiction extended. Rapine seemed to be legally authorized, and was perpetrated with such fury, and at the same time with such ignorance, that frequently the agents were unacquainted with the value of the articles which they seized. Thus, for example : the emperor ordered the seizure, at Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck, of all English merchandise, whatever might be its nature or origin. The Prince of Neufchatel wrote to me from the emperor, that I must procure ten millions of francs from the Hanse Towns. M. Daru, the commissary-in-chief, whose business it was to collect this sort of levies, which Napoleon had learned to make in Egypt, wrote to urge me to obtain a prompt and favourable decision. The unfortunate towns which I was thus enjoined to oppress, had already suffered sufficiently. I had obtained,

by means of negotiation, more than was demanded for the ransom of the English merchandise, which had been seized according to order. Before I received the letters of M. Daru and the Prince of Neufchatel, I had obtained from Hamburg sixteen millions instead of ten, besides nearly three millions from Bremen and Lubeck. Thus I furnished the government with nine millions more than had been required, and yet I had so managed, that those enormous sacrifices were not humiliating to those who made them. I fixed the value of the English merchandise, because I knew that the high price at which it sold on the continent would not only cover the proposed ransom, but also leave a considerable profit. Such was the singular effect of the continental system.

Peace being concluded with Russia, it was necessary to make choice of an ambassador, not only to maintain the new relations of amity between Napoleon and Alexander, but likewise to urge on the promised intervention of Russia with England, to bring about reconciliation and peace between the cabinets of Paris and London. The emperor confided this mission to Caulincourt, with respect to whom there existed an unfounded prejudice relative to some circumstances which preceded the death of the Duke d'Enghien. This unfortunate and unjust impression had preceded Caulincourt to St. Petersburg, and it was feared that he would not experience there the reception due to the French ambassador, and to his own personal qualities. I knew at the time, from positive information, that after a short explanation with Alexander, that monarch retained no suspicion, unfavourable to our ambassador, for whom he conceived and maintained great esteem and friendship.

Caulincourt's mission was not, in all respects, easy of fulfilment, for the invincible repugnance and reiterated refusal of England to enter into negotiations with France, through the intervention of Russia, was one of the remarkable circumstances of the period of which I am speaking. I knew positively that England was determined never to allow Napoleon to possess himself of the whole of the continent, a project which he indicated too undisguisedly to admit of any doubt respecting it. For two years he had indeed advanced with rapid strides; but England was not discouraged. She was too well aware of the irritation of the sovereigns, and the discontent of the people, not to be certain, that when she desired it, her lever of gold would again raise up and arm the continent against the encroaching power of Napoleon. He, on his part, perceiving

that all his attempts were fruitless, and that England would listen to no proposals, devised fresh plans for exciting new enemies against England.

It probably is not forgotten, that in 1801 France compelled Portugal to make common cause with her against England. In 1807 the emperor did again what the first consul had done. By an inexplicable fatality, Junot obtained the command of the troops which were marching against Portugal. I say against Portugal, for that was the fact, though France represented herself as a protector to deliver Portugal from the influence of England. Be that as it may, the choice which the emperor made of a commander astonished every body. Was Junot, a compound of vanity and mediocrity, the fit man to be intrusted with the command of an army in a distant country, and under circumstances in which great political and military talents were requisite? For my own part, knowing Junot's incapacity, I must acknowledge that his appointment astonished me. I remember, that when I was one day speaking on the subject to Bernadotte, he showed me a letter he had received from Paris, in which it was said, that the emperor had sent Junot to Portugal only for the sake of depriving him of the government of Paris. Junot annoyed Napoleon by his bad conduct, his folly, and his incredible extravagance. He was alike devoid of dignity—either in feeling or conduct. Thus Portugal was twice the place of exile selected by consular and imperial caprice; first, when the first consul wished to get rid of the familiarity of Lannes: and next, when the emperor grew weary of the misconduct of a favourite.

The invasion of Portugal presented no difficulty. It was an armed promenade, and not a war; but how many events were connected with the occupation of that country! The Prince Regent of Portugal, unwilling to act dishonourably to England, to which he was allied by treaties, and unable to oppose the whole power of Napoleon, embarked for Brazil, declaring that all defence was useless. At the same time he recommended his subjects to receive the French troops in a friendly manner, and said, that he consigned to Providence the consequences of an invasion which was without a motive. He was answered in the emperor's name, that Portugal being the ally of England, we were only carrying on hostilities against the latter country by invading his dominions. But whilst our eagles were advancing on Lisbon, England captured the island of Heligoland. Much more importance has been attributed to that event than it really deserved. The garrison, which was

brought to Gluckstadt, consisted only of thirty invalids. The only circumstance which conferred any importance on the little island of Heligoland, was its situation at the mouths of the Elbe and the Eyder. It furnishes pilots for ships sailing into either of those rivers.

The conduct of England with respect to Denmark and the bombardment of Copenhagen, excited general indignation even amongst persons who were not favourable to Napoleon's cause, which Denmark sincerely joined. The Prince Royal of Denmark, wishing to be revenged for the atrocious violence committed upon his capital, regarded as his enemies all who made common cause with England, and ordered M. Hue to be arrested.

It was in the month of November, that the code of French jurisprudence, upon which the most learned legislators had indefatigably laboured, was established, as the law of the state under the title of the Code Napoleon. Doubtless this legislative monument will redound to Napoleon's honour in history; but was it to be supposed that the same laws would be equally applicable throughout so vast an extent as that comprised within the French empire? Impossible as this was, as soon as the Code Napoleon was promulgated, I received orders to establish it in the Hanse Towns. The long and frequent conversations I had on this subject with the senators, and the most able lawyers of the country, soon convinced me of the immense difficulty I should have to encounter, and the danger of suddenly altering habits and customs, which had been firmly established by time.

The jury system gave tolerable satisfaction; but the severe punishments assigned to certain offences by the code were disapproved. Hence resulted the frequent and serious abuse of men being acquitted, whose guilt was evident to the jury, who pronounced them not guilty, rather than condemn them to a punishment which was thought too severe. Besides, their leniency had another ground, which was, that the people being ignorant of the new laws, were not aware of the penalties attached to particular offences. I remember that a man who was accused of stealing a cloak at Hamburg, justified himself on the ground that he committed the offence in a fit of intoxication. M. Von Einingen, one of the jury, insisted that the prisoner was not guilty, because, as he said, the syndic Door mann, when dining with him one day, having drunk more wine than usual, took away his cloak. This defence *per Baccho* was completely successful. An argument founded on the simi-

larity between the conduct of the syndic and the accused, could not but triumph; otherwise the little debauch of the former would have been condemned in the person of the latter. This trial, which terminated so whimsically, nevertheless proves, that the best and the gravest institutions may become the objects of ridicule when suddenly introduced into a country whose habits are not prepared to receive them.

The Romans very wisely reserved in the Capitol a place for the gods of the nations they conquered. They wished to annex provinces and kingdoms to their empire. Napoleon, on the contrary, wished to make his empire encroach upon other states, and to realize the impossible Eutopia of ten different nations, all having different customs and languages, united into a single state. Could justice, that safeguard of human rights, be duly administered in the Hanse Towns, when those towns were converted into French departments? In these new departments many judges had been appointed who did not understand a word of German, and who had no knowledge of law. The presidents of the tribunals of Lubeck, Stade, Bremerlehe, and Minden, were so utterly ignorant of the German language, that it was necessary to explain to them all the pleadings in the council-chamber. Was it not absurd to establish such a judicial system, and above all, to appoint such men in a country so important to France, as Hamburg and the Hanse Towns? Add to this the impertinence of some favourites who were sent from Paris to serve official and legal apprenticeships in the conquered provinces, and it may be easily conceived what was the attachment of the people to Napoleon the Great.



## CHAPTER XI.

**Disturbed state of Spain—Godoy, Prince of the Peace—Reciprocal accusations between the King of Spain and his son—False promise of Napoleon—Dissatisfaction occasioned by the presence of the French troops—Abdication of Charles IV.—The Prince of the Peace made prisoner—Murat at Madrid—Important news transmitted by a commercial letter—Murat's ambition—His protection of Godoy—Charles IV. denies his voluntary abdication—The crown of Spain destined for Joseph—General disapprobation of Napoleon's conduct.**

THE disorders of Spain, which commenced about the close of the year 1807, soon assumed a most complicated aspect. Though far from the theatre of events, I obtained an intimate knowledge of all the important facts connected with the extraordinary transactions of the Peninsula. However, as this point of history is one of the most generally, though I cannot say the best, known, I shall cancel in my notes and memoranda many things which would be but repetitions to the reading portion of the public. It is a remarkable fact that Bonaparte, who, by turns, cast his eyes on all the states of Europe, never directed his attention to Spain as long as his greatness was confined to mere projects. Whenever he spoke of his future destiny, he alluded to Italy, Germany, the East, and the destruction of the English power; but never to Spain. Consequently, when he heard of the first symptoms of disorder in the Peninsula, he paid but little attention to the business, and some time elapsed before he took any part in events which, subsequently, had so great an influence on his fate.

Godoy reigned in Spain under the name of the imbecile Charles IV. He was an object of execration to all who were not his creatures; and even those whose fate depended upon him, viewed him with the most profound contempt. The hatred of a people is almost always the just reward of

favourites. What sentiments, therefore, must have been inspired by a man who, to the knowledge of all Spain, owed the favour of the king only to the favours of the queen. Godoy's ascendancy over the royal family was boundless; his power was absolute: the treasures of America were at his command, and he made the most infamous application of them. In short, he had made the court of Madrid one of those places to which the indignant muse of Juvenal conducts the mother of Britannicus. There is no doubt that Godoy was one of the principal causes of all the misfortunes which have overwhelmed Spain under so many various forms.

The hatred of the Spaniards against the Prince of the Peace was general. This hatred was shared by the Prince of the Asturias, who openly declared himself the enemy of Godoy. The latter allied himself with France, from which he hoped to obtain powerful protection against his enemies. This alliance gave rise to great dissatisfaction in Spain, and caused France to be regarded with an unfavourable eye. The Prince of the Asturias was encouraged and supported by the complaints of the Spaniards, who wished to see the overthrow of Godoy's power.

Charles IV., on his part, regarded all opposition to the Prince of the Peace as directed against himself, and in November, 1807, he accused his son of wishing to dethrone him.\*

The French ambassador, M. de Beauharnais, a relation of Josephine's first husband, was a very circumspect man.

\* This accusation was conveyed to Napoleon in the following letter, addressed to him by Charles IV. (E. Ed.)

"SIRE, MY BROTHER,

"At the moment when I was occupied with the means of co-operating for the destruction of our common enemy, when I believed that all the plots of the late Queen of Naples had been buried with her daughter, I perceive, with a horror that makes me tremble, that the most dreadful spirit of intrigue has penetrated even into the heart of my palace. Alas! my heart bleeds at reciting so dreadful an outrage. My eldest son, the presumptive heir to my throne, entered into a horrible plot to dethrone me; he even went to the extreme of attempting the life of his mother. So dreadful a crime ought to be punished with the most exemplary rigour of the laws. *The law which calls him to the succession ought to be revoked; one of his brothers will be more worthy to occupy his place, both in my heart and on the throne.* I am at this moment in search of his accomplices, in order to sift thoroughly this plan of most atrocious wickedness; and I would not lose a moment in informing your imperial and royal majesty of it, and to beseech you to assist me with your knowledge and counsel.

"For which I pray, &c.

"CHARLES.

"San Lorenzo, November 29, 1807."

His situation at Madrid was extremely delicate and difficult. Without being gifted with any superior talent, M. de Beaumarnais possessed a certain tact which enabled him to see into things, and it was he who first informed the government of the misunderstanding which existed between the King of Spain and the Prince of the Asturias. He could not, indeed, avoid informing his court of all he observed. Could he conceal from the emperor that in the excess of his irritation against his son, Charles IV. had openly manifested a wish to revoke the law which called the Prince of the Asturias to the succession of one of the thrones of Charles V. The King of Spain did not confine himself to verbal complaints. He, or rather the Prince of the Peace, acting in his name, arrested the warmest partisans of the Prince of the Asturias. The latter, understanding the sentiments of his father, wrote to Napoleon, soliciting his support. Thus the father and son, at open war, were appealing one against another, for the support of him who wished only to get rid of them both, and to put one of his brothers in their place; that he might have one junior more in the college of European kings: but, as I have already mentioned, this ambition was not premeditated; and if he gave the throne of Spain to his brother Joseph, it was only on the refusal of his brother Louis.

The emperor had promised to support Charles IV. against his son; and not wishing to take part in these family quarrels, he had not answered the first letters of the Prince of the Asturias. But finding that the intrigues of Madrid were taking a serious turn, he commenced provisionally by sending troops to Spain. This gave offence to the people, who were averse to the interference of France. In the provinces through which the French troops passed, it was asked what was the object of the invasion. Some attributed it to the Prince of the Peace, others to the Prince of the Asturias; but it excited general indignation, and troubles broke out at Madrid, accompanied by all the violence peculiar to the Spanish character.

In these fearful circumstances, Godoy proposed that Charles IV. should remove to Seville, where he would be the better enabled to visit the factious with punishment. A proposition from Godoy to his master was, in fact, a command, and Charles IV. accordingly resolved to depart. The people now looked upon Godoy as a traitor. An insurrection broke out, the palace was surrounded, and the Prince of the Peace was on the point of being massacred in an upper apartment, where he

had taken refuge. One of the mob had the presence of mind to invoke in his favour the name of the Prince of the Asturias : this saved his life.\*

Charles IV. did not preserve his crown ; he was easily intimidated, and advantage was taken of a moment of alarm to demand that abdication, which he had not spirit to refuse. He surrendered up his rights to his son, and thus was overthrown the insolent power of the Prince of the Peace : the favourite was made prisoner, and the Spaniards, who, like all ignorant people, are easily excited, manifested their joy on the occasion with barbarous enthusiasm. Meanwhile the unfortunate king, who had escaped from imaginary rather than real dangers, and who was at first content with having exchanged the right of reigning for the right of living, no sooner found himself in safety, than he changed his mind. He wrote to the emperor, protesting against his abdication, and appealed to him as the arbiter of his future fate.

During these internal dissensions, the French army was continuing its march towards the Pyrenees. Those barriers were speedily crossed, and Murat entered Madrid in the

\* "The Prince of the Peace himself pretended to be alarmed, and perhaps was really so, when he saw the advance of our troops, of whom part had arrived at Burgos, and part entered Barcelona. He declared that the royal family had no alternative but to retire to Seville, and call the Spanish nation to arms. It was said to have been arranged that he should act this part to induce the king and the royal family to depart for Seville ; and that he was to escape from them clandestinely at Seville, to go and enjoy the advantages ensured to him by the treaty of Fontainebleau. Such is the story I have heard ; but I saw nothing that warranted me in believing it, at least as to the design entertained by the Prince of the Peace taking possession of the territories he had secured to himself. Far from this, the prince knew the decree of Milan, by which Junot was made governor of Portugal, and authorized to exercise his functions in the name of the emperor. The principality of the Algarves was now no longer talked of, and no doubt the prince had ceased to flatter himself with any thought of that dominion. He assembled the king's council at the palace of Aranjuez, and, after describing the misfortunes which threatened the monarchy, he succeeded in prevailing on the council to adopt his advice and decree the removal of the royal family to Seville. On quitting this council, the Prince of the Asturias said to the guards, as he passed through the hall in which they were stationed, 'The Prince of the Peace is a traitor : he wishes to send away my father. Prevent his departure.'

"This observation of the Prince of the Asturias was rapidly reported through town. The populace repaired to the palace of the Prince of Peace, ransacked it, and, after vigilant search, found the prince concealed in a garret. He would undoubtedly have fallen a victim to the fury of the mob, had not some of his attendants saved him by carrying him off to prison, pretending that they did so by order of the Prince of the Asturias."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo*, vol. ii. part I. p. 161. (E. Ed.)

beginning of April, 1808. Before I received any despatch from our government, I learned that Murat's presence in Madrid, far from producing a good effect, had only increased the disorder. I obtained this information from a merchant of Lubeck, who came to Hamburg on purpose to show me a letter he had received from his correspondent in Madrid. In this letter Spain was said to be a prey which Murat wished to appropriate to himself; and all that afterwards came to my knowledge, served only to prove the accuracy of the writer's information. It was perfectly true, that Murat wished to conquer Spain for himself, and it is not astonishing that the inhabitants of Madrid should have understood his designs, for he carried his indiscretion so far, as openly to express his wish to become King of Spain. The emperor was informed of this, and gave him to understand, in very significant terms, that the throne of Spain was not destined for him, but that he should not be forgotten.

However, Napoleon's remonstrances were not sufficient to restrain the imprudence of Murat; and if he did not gain the crown of Spain for himself, he powerfully contributed to make Charles IV. lose it. That monarch, whom old habits attached to the Prince of the Peace, solicited the emperor to liberate his favourite, alleging that he and his family would be content to live in any place of security, provided Godoy were with them. The unfortunate Charles seemed to be thoroughly disgusted with greatness.

Both the king and queen so earnestly implored Godoy's liberation, that Murat, whose vanity was flattered by these royal solicitations, took the Prince of the Peace under his protection; but he, at the same time, declared, that in spite of the abdication of Charles IV., he would acknowledge none but that prince as King of Spain, until he should receive contrary orders from the emperor. This declaration placed Murat in formal opposition to the Spanish people, who, through their hatred of Godoy, embraced the cause of the heir of the throne, in whose favour Charles IV. had abdicated.\*

It has been remarked, that Napoleon stood in a perplexing

\* Murat, by his imprudence, rendered himself exceedingly unpopular in Spain, at the period above referred to. Savary, who was despatched on a mission to Madrid previous to Napoleon's departure for Bayonne, relates the following incident, which occurred while he was on his journey to the Spanish capital:

"At Vittoria I met a French officer, who had been sent by the Grand Duke of Berg (Murat), to convey to the emperor the sword of Francis I., which he had demanded from the arsenal of Madrid. This mode of re-

situation in this conflict between the king and his son. This is not correct. King Charles, though he said that his abdication had been forced from him by violence and threats, had, nevertheless, tendered it voluntarily. By this act Ferdinand was king; but Charles declared it was done against his will, and he retracted. The emperor's recognition was wanting, and he could give or withhold it, as he pleased.

In this state of things, Napoleon arrived at Bayonne. Thither Ferdinand was also invited to go, under the pretence of arranging with the emperor the differences between his father and himself. It was some time before he could form his determination, but at length his ill-advised friends prevailed on him to set off, and he was caught in the snare. What happened to him, as well as to his father, who repaired to Bayonne, with his inseparable friend, the Prince of the Peace, is well known. Napoleon, who had undertaken to be arbiter between the father and son, thought the best way of settling the difference was to give the disputed throne to his brother Joseph, thus verifying the fable of the "Two Lawyers and the Oyster." The revolution in Madrid on the 2d of May accelerated the fate of Ferdinand, who was accused of being the author of it; at least this suspicion fell on his friends and adherents.

Charles IV., it was said, would not return to Spain, and solicited an asylum in France. He signed a renunciation of his rights to the crown of Spain, which renunciation was also signed by the infants.

The Prince Royal of Sweden, who was at Hamburg at this time, and the ministers of all the European powers, loudly condemned the conduct of Napoleon with respect to Spain. I cannot say whether or not M. Talleyrand advised the emperor not to attempt the overthrow of a branch of the house of Bourbon: his good sense and elevated views might certainly have suggested that advice. But the general opinion was, that had he retained the portfolio of foreign affairs, the Spanish revolution would have terminated with more decorum and good faith, than was exhibited in the tragi-comedy acted at Madrid and Bayonne.

covering it was not calculated to sooth the mortification of seeing it transferred to the hands of a conqueror. Louis XIV. might have demanded it a hundred years before the Grand Duke of Berg; but that monarch wisely felt the propriety of respecting the pride of a nation even in its monuments of glory. The Spaniards were sensible of the affront, and it injured the popularity of the Grand Duke of Berg."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo*, vol. ii. part I. p. 169. (E. Ed.)

## CHAPTER XII.

The Bourbon cause apparently lost—Louis XVIII. after his departure from France—The Count de Provence at Coblenz—He seeks refuge in Turin and Verona—Death of Louis XVI.—Louis XVIII. refused an asylum in Austria, Saxony, and Prussia—His residence at Mittau and Warsaw—Alexander and Louis XVIII.—The king's departure from Milan and arrival at Yarmouth—Determination of the King of England—M. Lemercier's prophecy to Bonaparte—Fouché's inquiries respecting Count Rechteren—Note from Josephine—New demands on the Hanse Towns—Order to raise three thousand sailors in Hamburg—Departure of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo—Prediction and superstition—Stoppage of letters addressed to the Spanish troops—La Romana and Romanillos.

AFTER the treaty of Tilsit, and the bonds of friendship, which seemed likely to unite permanently the emperors of France and Russia, the cause of the Bourbons must have been considered irretrievably lost. Indeed, their only hope consisted in the imprudence and folly of him who had usurped their throne, and that hope they doubtless cherished. I will here relate, what I had the opportunity of learning respecting the conduct of Louis XVIII., after his departure from France: this will naturally bring me to the end of November 1807, at which time I read in the "*Abeille du Nord*," published on the 9th of the same month, that the Count de Lille and the Duke d'Angoulême had set off for England.

The Count de Provence left Paris on the 21st of June, 1791. He constantly expressed his wish of keeping as near as possible to the frontiers of France. He at first took up his abode at Coblenz, and I knew from good authority that all the emigrants did not regard him with a favourable eye. They could not pardon the wise principles he had professed at a period when there was yet time to prevent, by reasonable concession, the misfortunes which imprudent irritation brought upon

France. When the emigrants, after the campaign of 1792, passed the Rhine, the Count de Provence resided in the little town of Ham on the Lippe, where he remained until he was persuaded that the people of Toulon had called him to Provence. As he could not, of course, pass through France, Monsieur repaired to the court of his father-in-law, the King of Sardinia, hoping to embark at Genoa, and from thence to reach the coast of Provence. But the evacuation of Toulon, where the name of Bonaparte was for the first time sounded by the breath of fame, having taken place before he was able to leave Turin, Monsieur remained there four months, at the expiration of which time his father-in-law intimated to him the impossibility of remaining longer in the Sardinian states. He was afterwards permitted to reside at Verona, where he heard of Louis XVI.'s death. After remaining two years in that city, the senate of Venice forbade his presence in the Venetian states. Thus forced to quit Italy, the count repaired to the army of Condé.

The heartless policy of the Austrian cabinet afforded no asylum to the Count de Provence; and he was obliged to pass through Germany; yet, as Louis XVIII. repeated over and over again, even since the restoration, "He never intended to shed French blood in Germany, for the sake of serving foreign interests." Monsieur had, indeed, too much penetration not to see that his cause was a mere pretext for the powers at war with France. They felt but little for the misfortunes of the prince, and merely wished to veil their ambition and their hatred of France under the false pretence of zeal for the house of Bourbon.

When the dauphin died, Louis XVIII. took the title of King of France, and went to Prussia, where he obtained an asylum. But the pretender to the crown of France had not yet drained his cup of misfortune. After the 18th Fructidor, the Directory required the King of Prussia to send away Louis XVIII., and the cabinet of Berlin, it must be granted, was not in a situation to oppose the desire of the French government, whose wishes were commands. In vain Louis XVIII. sought an asylum in the King of Saxony's states. There only remained Russia, who dared offer a last refuge to the descendant of Louis XIV. Paul I. who was always in extremes, and who at that time entertained a violent feeling of hatred towards France, earnestly offered Louis XVIII. a residence at Mittau. He treated him with the honours of a sovereign, and loaded him with marks of at-



tention and respect. Three years had scarcely passed, when Paul was seized with mad enthusiasm for the man who, twelve years later, ravaged his ancient capital, and Louis XVIII. found himself expelled from that prince's territory, with a harshness equal to the kindness with which he had, at first, been received.

In was during his three years' residence at Mittau, that Louis XVIII., who was then known by the title of Count de Lille, wrote to the first consul those letters which have been inserted in these memoirs. Prussia, being again solicited, at length consented that Louis XVIII. should reside at Warsaw; but on the accession of Napoleon to the empire, the prince quitted that residence, in order to consult respecting his new situation with the only sovereign, who had not deserted him in his misfortune, viz., the King of Sweden. They met at Calmar, and from that city was dated the protest which I have already noticed. Louis XVIII. did not stay long in the states of the King of Sweden. Russia was now on the point of joining her eagles with those of Austria, to oppose the new eagles of imperial France. Alexander offered to the Count de Lille the asylum which Paul had granted to him, and afterwards withdrawn. Louis XVIII. accepted the offer; but after the peace of Tilsit, fearing lest Alexander might imitate the second act of his father, as well as the first, he plainly saw that he must give up all intention of residing on the continent; and it was then that I read in the "*Abeille du Nord*" the article before alluded to. There is, however, one fact, upon which I must insist, because I know it to be true, viz., that it was of his own free will that Louis XVIII. quitted Mittau; and if he was afraid that Alexander would imitate his father's conduct, that fear was without foundation. The truth is, that Alexander was ignorant even of the king's intention to go away, until he heard that he had actually departed, from Baron Driesen, governor of Mittau. Having now stated the truth on this point, I have to correct another error, if indeed it be only an error, into which some writers have fallen. It has been falsely alleged, that the king left Mittau for the purpose of fomenting fresh troubles in France. The friends of Louis XVIII., who advised him to leave Mittau, had great hopes from the last war. They cherished still greater hopes from the new wars which Bonaparte's ambition could not fail to excite; but they were not so ill-informed respecting the internal condition of France, as to expect that disturbances would arise there, or even to be-

lieve in the possibility of fomenting them. *The pear was not yet ripe* for Louis XVIII.

On the 29th of November, the contents of a letter, which had arrived from London by Sweden, were communicated to me. This letter was dated the 3d of November, and contained some particulars respecting the Count de Lille's arrival in England. That prince had arrived at Yarmouth on the 31st of October; and it was stated that the king was obliged to wait some time in the port until certain difficulties, respecting his landing, and the continuance of his journey, should be removed. It, moreover, appeared from this letter, that the King of England thought proper to refuse the Count de Lille permission to go to London, or its neighbourhood. The palace of Holyrood, in Edinburgh, was assigned as his place of residence; and Mr. Ross, secretary to Mr. Canning, conveyed the determination of the King of England to Louis XVIII. at Yarmouth.

The precaution of the English ministry in not permitting the refugee king to go near London, appeared to me remarkable, considering the relative position of the governments of France and England, and I regarded it as a corroboration of what the Prince of Wittgenstein had told me respecting Mr. Canning's inclination for an amicable arrangement. But the moment was approaching, when the affairs of Spain were to raise an invincible obstacle to peace; to complicate more than ever the interests of the powers of Europe, and open to Napoleon that vast career of ambition which proved his ruin. He did not long allow the hopes of the emigrants to remain chimerical, and the year 1814 witnessed the realization of the prophetic remark made by M. Lemer cier, in a conversation with Bonaparte, a few days before the foundation of the empire: "If you make up the bed of the Bourbons, General, you will not lie in it ten years." Napoleon lay in it nine years and nine months.

Fouché, the grand investigator of the secrets of Europe, did not fail, on the first report of the agitations in Spain, to address to me question on question respecting the Count Rechteren, the Spanish minister at Hamburg, who, however, had left that city, with the permission of his court, four months after I had entered on my functions. This was going back very far to seek information respecting the affairs of the day. At the very moment when I transmitted a reply to Fouché which was not calculated to please him, because it afforded no ground for suspicion as to the personal conduct of M.

Rechteren, I received from the amiable Josephine a new mark of her remembrance. She sent me the following note :

“ M. Milon, who is now in Hamburg, wishes me, my dear Bourrienne, to request that you will use your interest in his favour. I feel the more pleasure in making this request, as it affords me an opportunity of renewing the assurance of my regard for you.”

Josephine's letter was dated from Fontainbleau, whither the emperor used to make journeys in imitation of the old court of France. During these excursions he sometimes partook of the pleasures of the chase ; but merely for the sake of reviving an old custom, for in that exercise he found as little amusement as Montaigne did in the game of chess. At Fontainbleau, as every where else, his mind was engaged with the means of augmenting his greatness ; but, unfortunately, the exactions he imposed on distant countries were calculated to alienate from him the affections of the people who suffered from them. Thus, for example, I received an order emanating from him, and transmitted to me by M. Daru, the commissary-in-chief of the army, that the pay of all the French troops stationed in the Hanse Towns, should be defrayed by those towns. I lamented the necessity of making such a communication to the senates of Bremen, Lubeck, and Hamburg ; but my duty compelled me to do so, and I had long been accustomed to fulfil duties even more painful. I tried every means possible with the three states, not collectively, but separately, to induce them to comply with the measure, in the hope that the assent of one, would help me to obtain that of the two others. But, as if they had been all agreed, I only received from them evasive expressions of regret.

Knowing as I did, and I may say better than any one else, the hopes and designs of Bonaparte respecting the north of Germany, it was not without pain, nor even without alarm, that I saw him doing every thing calculated to convert into enemies the inhabitants of a country, which would always have remained quiet, had it only been permitted to preserve its neutrality. Among the orders I received were often many which could only have been the result of the profoundest ignorance. For example, I was one day directed to press three thousand seamen in the Hanse Towns. Three thousand seamen out of a population of two hundred thousand ! What blockhead could have suggested such a project ? It was as absurd as to think of raising 500,000 sailors in France. This project being impossible, it was, of course, not executed ; but

I had even some difficulty in persuading the emperor, that a sixth of the number demanded was the utmost that the Hanse Towns could supply. Five hundred seamen were accordingly furnished, but to make up even that number, it was necessary to include many men who were totally unfit for war service.

In the spring of 1808, a circumstance occurred which gave me much uneasiness; it was the departure of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo, who received orders to repair to Copenhagen.\* He left Hamburg on the 8th of March, as he was to reach his destination on the 14th of the same month. The Danish chargé-d'affaires also received orders to join the prince, and discharge the functions of king's commissary. It was during his government at Hamburg, and his stay in Jutland, that Bernadotte unconsciously paved his way to the throne of Sweden. I recollect that he had also his presages and his predestinations. In short, he believed in astrology, and I shall never forget the serious tone in which he one day said to me, "Would you believe, my dear friend, that it was predicted at Paris that I should be a king, but that I must cross the sea to reach my throne." I could not help smiling at this weakness of mind, from which Bonaparte was not far removed. It certainly was not any supernatural influence which elevated Bernadotte to sovereign rank. That elevation was solely due to his excellent character. He had no other talisman than the wisdom of his government, and the promptitude which he always showed to oppose unjust measures. This it was that united all opinions in his favour.

The bad state of the roads in the north prolonged Bernadotte's journey one day. He set out on the 8th of March: he was expected to arrive at Copenhagen on the 14th, but did not reach there till the 15th. He arrived precisely two hours before the death of Christian, King of Denmark, an event with which he made me acquainted by a letter written two days after his arrival.

On the 6th of April following, I received a second letter from Bernadotte, in which he desired me to order the grand ducal postmaster to keep back all letters addressed to the Spanish troops, who had been placed under his command, and of which the corps of Romana formed part. The postmaster

\* He was directed to take the command of the French troops whom the emperor sent into Denmark, after the bombardment of Copenhagen by the English.

was ordered to keep the letters until he received orders to forward them to their destinations. Bernadotte considered this step indispensable to prevent the intrigues which he feared might be set on foot, in order to shake the fidelity of the Spaniards he commanded. I saw from his despatch, that he feared the plotting of Romanillos,\* who, however, was not a person to cause much apprehension. Romanillos was as commonplace a man as could well be conceived; and his speeches, as well as his writings, were too innocent to create any influence on public opinion.

\* Romanillos was secretary of the Spanish legation at Hamburg, and chargé-d'affaires from the cabinet of Madrid, after the departure of M. Rechteren.

## CHAPTER XIII.

Illegible notifications—Calumnious attack upon Baron Stein, Prince Wittgenstein and myself—Baron Stein's love of liberty—His *Testament politique*—Accusation against Prince Wittgenstein—Surreptitious copy of a letter of the Countess Woss—Bernadotte's moderation—Indispensable measure—Gratitude of Prince Wittgenstein—Official note from the Prussian minister in Hamburg—Recent testimony of Prince Wittgenstein—Flattering letter from the King of Prussia.

IN addition to the functions with which the emperor at first invested me, I had to discharge the duties of French consul-general at Hamburg, and in that character I was obliged to present to the minister for foreign affairs a very singular request, viz., that the judicial notifications, which as consul-general I had to make known to the people of Hamburg, might be written in a more legible hand. Many of these notifications had been disregarded on account of the impossibility of reading them. With respect to one of them, it was declared that it was impossible to discover whether the writing was German, French, or Chinese.

This affair was easily managed; but in the course of 1808, a still more serious matter occurred, in which I took great interest, and which serves to show to what a depth of turpitude those people will descend who found their fortunes on calumny. I here allude to a plot which was formed against Prince Wittgenstein. In a passage in a late publication, under the title of "Souvenirs," &c.,\* it is stated, that fabricated

\* The writer makes his charge in the following terms: "The rights of man and the law of nations were violated in an extraordinary way in December, 1808, in the person of Prince Wittgenstein, the Prussian minister at Hamburg, and as this affair led to M. Stein's proscription by Bonaparte, it will not be out of place to notice it here. Prince Wittgenstein was in the habit of receiving despatches from M. Stein, the Prussian minister, who was at Königsberg with the king; and Bonaparte was curious to know the contents of these despatches. For this

despatches, purporting to be from Baron Stein, had been sent to the prince, with the view of making it appear that the latter was engaged in a plot for exciting insurrection in Westphalia. It is added, that the minister, Bourrienne, had compelled the prince to write a letter, complaining of the conduct of Baron Stein. I shall here give a precise statement of the facts. Baron Stein has been too little known. As minister of the King of Prussia, he distinguished himself among the other members of the cabinet of Berlin, who supported, with all their influence, the regeneration of the people, and the creation of that public spirit which is the life and safety of nations. He wished to diffuse in all minds that conservative principle which declares, that subjects and governments must be united by bonds of mutual interest. This was enough to make Bonaparte hate Baron Stein. He who could not endure in France those patriotic sentiments which, nevertheless, had opened to him the way to the throne, would not, of course, tolerate them among a people with whom he was at war; especially when he saw that a national effervescence, manifested in Prussia, might oppose a barrier to his ambition. Bonaparte attributed to Baron Stein, and to his system, the murmurs of patriotism which were at first heard faintly in the states of Frederick William, and afterwards burst out so loudly. The animosity which Bonaparte from that moment conceived towards Baron Stein was a proof of his shrewdness. He clearly saw into the

purpose having caused one of the couriers to be arrested and detained, he examined his despatches, and afterwards forwarded them to Prince Wittgenstein, at Hamburg. The despatches contained severe reflections on Bonaparte's conduct in Spain and Westphalia. He afterwards sent several forged letters, in which the handwriting of M. Stein had been imitated, to the prince, calling upon him to transmit a plan for revolutionizing Westphalia. Prince Wittgenstein, not knowing what to think of these letters, wrote to Count Goltz, and to the minister of the King of Prussia at Königsberg, respecting the extraordinary communications he had received from M. Stein. The French agents intercepted these letters, and, fearful lest the truth might be discovered, recourse was had to new experiments.

"Prince Wittgenstein was arrested at Hamburg, and lodged in the house of Bonaparte's minister, Bourrienne. He was there compelled to write to Count Goltz respecting the conduct of M. Stein, who was stated to be endeavouring to revolutionize Westphalia, and other things equally false. These letters were sent directly to the *Moniteur*, and were inserted in that paper on the 7th of December, 1806. Bonaparte, notwithstanding all his cunning, could not keep his own secret. It is evident from the letters themselves, that Prince Wittgenstein was forced to write them, for he certainly did not send them to the *Moniteur*. As for Count Goltz, he never received them, the originals having been sent to Paris, where they remained. It was subsequently to this scandalous affair that M. Stein was outlawed."

future; and there can be little doubt, that to this first impulse given to the public mind in Prussia, must be attributed the generous feeling that was manifested when General York separated from the French troops, without waiting for the King of Prussia's consent.

In November, Baron Stein published at Koningsberg, where he then resided, a circular letter to the principal officers of the kingdom of Prussia. This document was known by the name of Baron Stein's Political Testament. This is all I know respecting Baron Stein, and, consequently, all I can say of him; but I could not allow such a calumny as had been broached to pass unnoticed.

Now, for the truth:—The Countess Woss, first lady of the court of the Queen of Prussia, wrote to her friend Prince Sayn-Wittgenstein at Hamburg, a letter without date of time or place. This letter, it is said, reached Hamburg on the 16th of November. Prince Wittgenstein was at Hamburg, not as a minister, but merely as a private resident. Baron-Grote was then minister from Prussia to the Hanse Towns. About the time when the letter of the Countess Woss reached Hamburg, Marshal Bernadotte received one from M. Daru, dated the 14th of November, containing a copy of Madame de Woss's letter, which had been opened in the Berlin cabinet. This copy was translated from German into French; and, in transmitting it, M. Daru desired the Prince de Ponte-Corvo to arrest Prince Sayn-Wittgenstein. From some terms used in the *translated* copy of Madame Woss's letter, it was pretended that the Prince was at the head of a conspiracy, the object of which was to revolutionize Westphalia, and afterwards to assassinate the emperor.

Bernadotte immediately called on me to communicate this incomprehensible despatch. As soon as I saw it, I suspected some odious machination, and I observed to the marshal, that having resided with the prince, and knowing him well, I considered him incapable of entering into the designs attributed to him. I added, that he had often spoken to me of the Countess Woss as being a most respectable lady, and I advised him not to arrest the prince, or, at least, to delay that disagreeable measure. "Let us go and call on him," said I, "he will not expect us, and we shall see what effect our visit will produce on him; at all events, we will require him to give his word of honour not to quit Hamburg before the affair be settled." Bernadotte, who was always disposed to act kindly, complied with my request. It was ten o'clock at night when



we went to call on Prince Wittgenstein, and Bernadotte had received the letter only two hours before. We found the prince in dishabille, quietly taking his tea. Supposing we had come to make him a friendly visit, he made many excuses for the way in which we found him, observing, that it was our own fault for coming so late. He behaved in his usual polite and easy way, so that we could not imagine he had any idea of the business we had come upon. The marshal tried every delicate way of giving him to understand the nature of our visit, but at last we were obliged to tell it him plainly. His first idea was that we were joking; but when he saw that we were serious, and when Bernadotte presented to him the translated copy of the letter of the Countess Woss, his surprise and indignation were beyond all expression. Bernadotte required him to give his word that he would not leave Hamburg without permission, which the prince willingly did, declaring that he had not received the original of the letter communicated to us.

Next day, the 17th of November, Prince Wittgenstein called on me at an early hour. I was too well acquainted with his excellent character to require any assurance of his being neither a revolutionist nor a murderer. He seemed much agitated by what had occurred. I said all I could to allay his apprehensions, and advised him to apply for the original letter of the Countess Woss.

In spite of friendship and conviction, the orders we had received made it impossible we could dispense with examining the prince's papers. I looked them over myself, assisted by General Gerard, and we found nothing upon which the slightest suspicion could be founded. Bernadotte, urged by my solicitations, and personally convinced of the innocence of the prince, persisted in his determination of not arresting him. However, to secure himself against any reproach, the Prince of Ponte-Corvo wrote on the 19th a letter to the emperor, who was then in Spain, in which he stated what had passed, adding, that he had not thought it necessary to arrest Prince Wittgenstein, but that he had taken measures for securing him should it be necessary, and that he awaited further orders.

I still strongly urged Prince Wittgenstein to demand that the original letter of the Countess Woss should be shown to him. On the 21st of November, Count Daru wrote to inform him, that the original letter had been sent to the King of Prussia at Konigsberg. On the other hand, Davoust as-

serted, that the original had actually been sent to Prince Wittgenstein, but that he had destroyed it, and that he now denied the projected conspiracy and poisoning. On the 22d of November, Count Woss, the nephew of the Countess, had a conversation at Berlin with Count Daru, who had assured me that the letter had merely been copied, and then forwarded by the post, and that it must be delivered according to its address. But Count Woss had informed the prince, that on the 20th he had been promised to have a sight of the letter on the 23d.

These incomprehensible contradictions proved that the original letter was still in existence, and that some one had an interest in preventing it being compared with the translated copy. But the prince, conscious of his own innocence, and well assured that the Countess Woss could not have written any thing to compromise him, insisted that the sense of the original letter must have been perverted in the translation.

On the 26th of November I received a letter on the subject from Baron Grote, the King of Prussia's minister, who was absent from Hamburg when M. Daru's despatch arrived. In his note the baron protested against the calumnious imputation cast on Prince Wittgenstein and the Countess Woss, and claimed my interference to cause the proceedings against the prince to be withdrawn.

In spite of the reiterated requests of Prince Wittgenstein, the original letter was not produced. At length, the day after that on which I received M. Grote's note, and thirteen days after the receipt of the translated copy of Countess Woss's letter, the prince wrote me the following note in German, the autograph of which I have preserved :

Enclosed, my dear friend, you will receive the original letter of the Countess Woss, together with one addressed to the prince,\* and another to the minister Woss. If any thing else is necessary I will come immediately to you.

If I have failed in calling on you to-day, you must regard that only as a proof of the value I attach to your friendship.† Those men alone who know how to make allowance for the weakness of their fellow-creatures can inspire me with the high esteem I

\* The Prince of Ponte-Corvo.

† It had been agreed that Prince Wittgenstein should call on me every day to prove his presence in Hamburg ; but the pleasure I derived from seeing him was the only reason for my attaching any importance to this condition. I was too well convinced of the integrity of his character to allow his absence ever to cause me the least uneasiness.

cherish for you. The idea of losing your friendship, and of having been guilty of indiscretion and ingratitude, has bewildered me, and thrown me into a state of feeling I cannot describe.

Ever gratefully yours,

WITTMENSTEIN.

Hamburg, 27th of November, 1828.

P.S. I have not kept a copy of Count Woss's letter. If the prince wishes for his long letter which I read to you yesterday evening, he shall have a copy of it to-morrow.

Prince Wittgenstein's state of mind was not improved by the reception of the original letter of the Countess Woss. Two days after, on the 29th of November, he wrote to me the following billet:

I have just risen after having slept nine hours. I have now forgotten all my troubles, which before had almost driven me to despair. On awaking, my first prayer was, that God would bless you and your family, and procure me an opportunity of proving to you that I am not unworthy of your friendship.

The original letter of the Countess Woss, the translated copy which had been sent from Berlin, another translation which I made, and a third made by an aide-de-camp of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo (I believe M. Gentil de Saint Alphonse), were all forwarded to the emperor. He easily perceived the difference between the translations, and saw no just ground for the accusation which had been brought against Prince Wittgenstein.

After this statement of facts, supported by uncontradictable proofs, what is to be thought of the attack upon me contained in the publication from which I have given an extract? When that publication came to my knowledge I was already engaged in writing these Memoirs, though I had no idea of the time at which I might publish them. I had already in my possession all the documents to which I have just referred, and which are certainly more than sufficient to refute the unfounded attack. However, with the view of throwing all possible light on this affair, I wrote to Prince Wittgenstein, who was then, and still is, a minister of the Prussian cabinet. And on the 29th of June, 1828, I received from him an answer, in which, among other things, he said—

“If you intend to publish any thing relative to your functions at Hamburg, you can, with justice, state, that you did

not induce me to write a letter to Baron Stein of the nature of that mentioned by the author of a publication, entitled, '*Nos Souvenirs, ou les péchés de Napoléon.*' On the contrary, I retain a grateful sense of all the kindness I experienced from you during that difficult period, and I am ready to make this declaration to whoever may doubt my sentiments towards you."

I will now lay before the reader a letter from the King of Prussia, which was transmitted to me through the medium of Prince Wittgenstein, previous to the miserable contrivance to which the latter had wellnigh fallen a victim. I insert the letter in this place, because the date to which it refers brings me precisely to that point at which I shall resume the thread of my narrative in the next chapter. I have in my possession the autograph copy of this letter, and without affecting any false modesty, I will candidly confess that I am proud to take this opportunity of publishing it :

MONSIEUR DE BOURRIENNE,

I am informed of the just dispositions and obliging interest which you have manifested for my states and for my subjects, whenever circumstances have given you the opportunity of so doing. I feel great pleasure in thus directly returning you my thanks, and I beg that you will continue to manifest the same sentiments on occasions, which will, no doubt, frequently recur. Be convinced that I shall retain a grateful recollection of your conduct, and that I shall have great satisfaction in proving, by all means in my power, that I render you full justice. I pray God, &c.

FREDERICK WILLIAM.

Koningsberg, March 18, 1808.

## CHAPTER XIV.

Eagerness of the German princes to join the confederation of the Rhine—Attack upon me on account of M. Hue—Bernadotte's successor in Hamburg—Exactions and tyrannical conduct of General Dupas—Disturbance in Hamburg—Plates broken in a fit of rage—My letter to Bernadotte—His reply—Bernadotte's return to Hamburg, and departure of Dupas for Lubeck—Noble conduct of the aide-de-camp Barral—Promulgation of the Code of Commerce—Conquests by *senatus consulta*—Three events in one day—Recollections—Application of a line of Voltaire—Creation of the imperial nobility—Restoration of the university—Aggrandizement of the kingdom of Italy, at the expense of Rome—Cardinal Caprara's departure from Paris—The interview at Erfurth.

I SHALL not trace a picture of all the acts of turpitude committed by second-rate ambitious aspirants, who hoped to come in for their share in the division of the continent. The emperor's lieutenants regarded Europe as a twelfth cake, but none of them ventured to dispute the bean with Napoleon. Long would be the litany, were I to enregister here all the fraud and treachery which they committed, either to augment their fortunes or to win the favour of the chief, who wished to have kings for his subjects. The fact is, that all the princes of Germany displayed the greatest eagerness to range themselves under the protection of Napoleon, by joining the Confederation of the Rhine. I received from those princes several letters, which served to prove at once the influence of Napoleon in Germany, and the facility with which men bend beneath the yoke of a new power. I must say, that among the emigrants who remained faithful to their cause, there were some who evinced more firmness of character than the foreign princes. I may mention, for example, M. Hue, the valet-de-chambre of Louis XVI. I do not intend to deny the high regard I entertained for that faithful servant of the martyred king: but the attentions which I congratulate myself on having

shown to an excellent man, should not have drawn upon me false imputations.

I have read in a publication the following statement:—"M. Hue retired to Hamburg, where he passed nine months in perfect obscurity. He afterwards went to Holland, provided with a passport from Bourrienne, who was Napoleon's minister, though in disgrace, and who, foreseeing what was to happen, sought to ingratiate himself in the favour of the Bourbons."

The above passage contains a falsehood in almost every line. M. Hue wished to reside in Hamburg, but he did not wish to conceal himself. I cheerfully permitted him to remain there, in spite of contrary and very strict orders, which I had received, and with which I made M. Hue acquainted. I invited him to visit me, and assured him that he might remain in Hamburg without apprehension, provided he acted prudently. He wished to go to Holland, and I took upon myself to give him a passport. I left M. Hue in the free management of his business, the nature of which I knew very well, and which was very honourable; he was deputed to pay the pensions which Louis XVIII. granted to the emigrants. As for myself, I had tendered my resignation of private secretary to Bonaparte: and even admitting I was in disgrace in that character, I was not so as minister and consul-general at Hamburg. My situation, which was of little consequence at the time I was appointed to it, was rendered, by circumstances, exceedingly important. It was, in fact, a sort of watch-tower of the government, whence all the movements of northern Germany were observed: and during my residence in the Hanse Towns, I continually experienced the truth of what Bonaparte said to me at my farewell audience:—"Yours is a place independent and apart."

It is absurd to say that the kindness I showed to M. Hue was an attempt to ingratiate myself in the favour of the Bourbons. My attentions to him were dictated solely by humanity, unaccompanied by any afterthought. Napoleon had given me his confidence, and, by mitigating the severity of his orders, I served him better than they who executed them in a way which could not fail to render the French government odious. If I am accused of extending every possible indulgence to the unfortunate emigrants, I plead guilty; and, far from wishing to defend myself against the charge, I consider it honourable to me. But I defy any one of them to say that I betrayed in their favour the interests with which I was intrusted. They who

argued Bonaparte to usurp the crown of France, served, though perhaps unconsciously, the cause of the Bourbons. I, on the contrary, used all my endeavours to dissuade him from that measure, which I clearly saw must, in the end, lead to the restoration, though I do not pretend that I was sufficiently clear-sighted to guess that Napoleon's fall was so near at hand. The kindness I showed to M. Hue and his companions in misfortune, was prompted by humanity, and not by mean speculation. As well might it be said that Bernadotte, who, like myself, neglected no opportunity of softening the rigour of the orders he was deputed to execute, was, by this means, working his way to the throne of Sweden.

Bernadotte had proceeded to Denmark, to take the command of the Spanish and French troops who had been removed from the Hanse Towns to occupy that kingdom, which was then threatened by the English. His departure was a great loss to me, for we had always agreed respecting the measures to be adopted, and I felt his absence the more sensibly when I was enabled to make a comparison between him and his successor. It is painful to me to detail the misconduct of those who compromised the French name in Germany, but, in fulfilment of the task I have undertaken, I am bound to tell the truth.

In April, 1808, General Dupas came to take the command of Hamburg; but only under the orders of Bernadotte, who retained the supreme command of the French troops in the Hanse Towns. By the appointment of General Dupas, the emperor cruelly thwarted the wishes and hopes of the inhabitants of Lower Saxony. That general said of the people of Hamburg, "As long as I see those . . . driving in their carriages, I will have money from them." It is, however, only just to add, that his exertions were not made on his own account, but were for the benefit of another man to whom he owed his all, and to whom he had in some measure devoted his existence.

I will state some particulars respecting the way in which the generals who commanded the French troops at Hamburg were maintained. The senate of Hamburg granted to the marshals thirty *friederichs* per day for the expenses of their mess, exclusive of the hotel in which they were lodged by the city. The generals of division had only twenty *friederichs*. General Dupas wished to be provided for on the same footing as the marshals. The senate having, with reason, rejected this demand, Dupas required that he should be daily served

with a breakfast and dinner of thirty covers. This was an inconceivable burden, and Dupas cost the city more than any of his predecessors.

I saw an account of his expenses, which, during the twenty-one weeks he remained at Hamburg, amounted to 122,000 marks, or about 183,000 francs. Only the most exquisite wines were drunk at the table of Dupas. Even his servants were treated with champagne, and the choicest fruits were brought from the fine hothouses of Berlin. The inhabitants were irritated at this extravagance, and Dupas accordingly experienced the resistance of the senate. Among other vexations there was one to which the people could not readily submit. In Hamburg, which had formerly been a fortified town, the custom was preserved of closing the gates at night-fall. On Sundays they were closed three-quarters of an hour later, to avoid interrupting the amusements of the people.

While General Dupas was governor of Hamburg, an event occurred which occasioned considerable irritation in the public mind, and might have been attended by fatal consequences. From some whim or other, the general ordered the gates to be closed at seven in the evening, and consequently while it was broad daylight, for it was in the middle of spring; no exception was made in favour of Sunday; and on that day a great number of the inhabitants, who had been walking in the outskirts of the city, presented themselves at the gate of Altona for admittance. To their surprise they found the gate closed, though it was a greater thoroughfare than any other gate in Hamburg. The number of persons requiring admittance increased, and soon a considerable crowd collected. After useless entreaties had been addressed to the chief of the post, the people were determined to send to the commandant for the keys. The commandant arrived, accompanied by the general. When they appeared, it was supposed they had come for the purpose of opening the gates, and they were accordingly saluted with a general *hurrah!* which throughout almost all the north is the usual cry for expressing popular satisfaction. General Dupas not understanding the meaning of this *hurrah!* supposed it to be a signal for sedition; and instead of ordering the gates to be opened, he commanded the military to fire upon the peaceful citizens, who only wanted to return to their homes. Several persons were killed, and others more or less seriously wounded. Fortunately, after this first discharge the fury of Dupas was somewhat appeased; but still he persisted in keeping the gates closed at night. Next day, an order was



posted about the city, prohibiting the cry of *hurrah!* under pain of a severe punishment. It was also forbidden, that more than three persons should collect together in the streets. Thus it was, that certain persons imposed the French yoke upon towns and provinces which were previously happy. Dupas was as much execrated in the Hanse Towns as Clarke had been in Berlin, when he was governor of that capital during the campaign of 1807. Clarke had burdened the people of Berlin with every kind of oppression and exaction. He, as well as many others, manifested a ready obedience in executing the imperial orders, however tyrannical they might be; and Heaven knows what epithets invariably accompanied the name of Clarke, when pronounced by the lips of a Prussian.

Dupas seemed to have taken Clarke as his model. An artillery officer, who was in Hamburg at the time of the disturbance I have just mentioned, told me that it was he who was directed to place two pieces of light artillery before the gate of Altona. Having executed this order, he went to General Dupas, whom he found in a furious fit of passion, breaking and destroying every thing within his reach. In the presence of the officer he broke more than two dozen plates which were on the table before him: they had, of course, cost him very little.

On the day after the disturbance which had so fatal a termination, I wrote to inform the Prince of Ponte-Corvo of what had taken place, and in my letter I solicited the suppression of an extraordinary tribunal which had been created by General Dupas. He returned me an immediate answer, complying with my request. His letter was as follows:

I have received your letter, my dear Minister: it forcibly conveys the expression of your right feeling, which revolts against oppression, severity, and the abuse of power. I entirely concur in your view of the subject, and I am distressed whenever I see such acts of injustice committed. On an examination of the events which took place on the 9th, it is impossible to deny that the officer who ordered the gates to be closed so soon was in the wrong; and next, it may be asked, why were not the gates opened instead of the military being ordered to fire on the people? But, on the other hand, did not the people evince decided obstinacy and insubordination? Were they not to blame in throwing stones at the guard, forcing the palisades, and even refusing to listen to the voice of the magistrates? It is melancholy that they should have fallen into these excesses, from

which, doubtless, they would have refrained had they listened to the civil chiefs, who ought to be their first sentinels. Finally, my dear Minister, the senator who distributed money at the gate of Altona to appease the multitude, would have done better had he advised them to wait patiently until the gates were opened, and he might, I think, have gone to the commandant or the general, to solicit that concession.

Whenever an irritated mob resorts to violence there is no safety for any one. The protecting power must then exert its utmost authority to stop mischief. The senate of ancient Rome, so jealous of its prerogatives, consigned to a dictator, in times of trouble, the power of life and death, and that magistrate knew no other code than his own will and the axe of his lictors. The ordinary laws did not resume their course until the people returned to submission.

The event which took place in Hamburg produced a feeling of agitation, of which evil disposed persons might take advantage to stir up open insurrection. That feeling could only be repressed by a severe tribunal, which, however, is no longer necessary. General Dupas has, accordingly, received orders to dissolve it, and justice will resume her usual course.

J. BERNADOTTE.

Densel, May 4, 1808.

When Bernadotte returned to Hamburg he sent Dupas to Lubeck. That city, which was poorer than Hamburg, suffered cruelly from the visitation of such a guest. Dupas levied all his exactions in kind, and indignantly spurned every offer of accepting money, the very idea of which, he said, shocked his delicacy of feeling. But his demands became so extravagant, that the city of Lubeck was utterly unable to satisfy them. Besides his table, which was provided in the same style of profusion as at Hamburg, he required to be furnished with plate, linen, wood, and candles; in short, with the most trivial articles of household consumption.

The senate deputed to the incorruptible General Dupas M. Nolting, a venerable old man, who mildly represented to him the abuses which were every where committed in his name, and entreated that he would vouchsafe to accept twenty louis per day to defray the expenses of his table alone. At this proposition General Dupas flew into a rage. To offer him money was an insult not to be endured!—He furiously drove the terrified senator out of the house, and the next minute ordered his aide-de-camp Barral to imprison him. M. de Barral, startled at this extraordinary order, ventured to remonstrate with the general, but in vain; and, though

against his heart, he was obliged to obey. The aide-de-camp accordingly waited upon the senator, Nolting, and overcome by that feeling of respect which gray hairs involuntarily inspire in youth, instead of arresting him, he besought the old man not to leave his house until he should prevail on the general to retract his orders. It was not till the following day that M. de Barral succeeded in getting these orders revoked—that is to say, he obtained M. Nolting's release from prison; for Dupas would not be satisfied until he heard that the senator had suffered at least the commencement of the punishment to which his capricious fury had doomed him.

In spite of his parade of disinterestedness, General Dupas yielded so far as to accept the twenty louis a day for the expense of his table, which M. Nolting had offered him, on the part of the senate of Lubeck; but it was not without murmurings, complaints, and menaces, that he made this generous concession; and he exclaimed more than once, "These fellows have portioned out my allowance for me." Lubeck was not released from the presence of General Dupas until the month of March, 1809, when he was summoned to command a division in the emperor's new campaign against Austria. Strange as it may appear, it is, nevertheless, the fact, that oppressive as had been his presence at Lubeck, the Hanse Towns soon had reason to regret him.

The year 1808 was fertile in remarkable events. Occupied as I was with my own duties, I yet amused my leisure in observing the course of those great acts by which Bonaparte seemed determined to mark every day of his life. At the commencement of 1808, I received one of the first copies of the Code of Commerce, promulgated on the 1st of January by the emperor's order. This code appeared to me an act of derision; at least it was extraordinary to publish a code respecting a subject which it was the effect of all the imperial decrees to destroy. What trade could possibly exist under the continental system, and the ruinous severity of the customs? The line was already extended widely enough, when, by a *senatus consultum*, it was still further widened. The emperor, to whom all the continent submitted, had recourse to no other formality for the purpose of annexing to the empire the towns of Kehl, Cassel near Mentz, Wessel, and Flushing, with the territories depending on them. These conquests, gained by decrees and senatorial decisions, had at least the advantage of being effected without bloodshed. All these things were carefully communicated to me by the

ministers, with whom I corresponded; for my situation at Hamburg had acquired such importance, that it was necessary I should know every thing.

At this period, I observed among the news which I received from different places a singular coincidence of dates, worthy of being noted by the authors of Ephemerides. On the same day, namely, the 1st of February, Paris, Lisbon, and Rome, were the scenes of events of different kinds, but all of which, happening on one day, afford a striking example of the rapidity of movement which marked the reign of Bonaparte. At Paris, the niece of Josephine, Mademoiselle de Tascher, whom Napoleon had lately exalted to the rank of princess, was married to the reigning Prince of Ahremberg, while, at the same time, Junot declared to Portugal that the house of Braganza had ceased to reign, and French troops were, under the command of General Miollis, occupying Rome. This occupation was the commencement of prolonged struggles, during which Pius VII. expiated the condescension he had shown in going to Paris to crown Napoleon.

My correspondence, relative to what passed in the south of France and of Europe, presented to me, if I may so express myself, merely an anecdotal interest. Not so the news which came from the north. At Hamburg I was like the sentinel of an advanced post, always on the alert. I frequently informed the government of what would take place before the event actually happened; I was one of the first to hear of the plans of Russia relative to Sweden. The courier which I sent to Paris arrived there at the very moment when Russia made the declaration of war. About the end of February, the Russian troops entered Swedish Finland, and occupied also the capital of that province, which had, at all times, been coveted by the Russian government. It has been said, that at the interview at Erfurth, Bonaparte consented to the usurpation of that province by Alexander, in return for the complaisance of the latter in acknowledging Joseph as King of Spain and the Indies.

The removal of Joseph from the throne of Naples to the throne of Madrid, belongs, indeed, to that period respecting which I am now throwing together a few recollections. Murat had succeeded Joseph at Naples, and that accession of the brother-in-law of Napoleon to one of the thrones of the house of Bourbon gave Bonaparte another junior in the college of kings, of which he would have infallibly become the senior, if he had gone on as he began.

I will relate a circumstance which now occurs to my mind respecting the kings manufactured by Napoleon. I recollect that during the King of Etruria's stay in Paris, the first consul went with that prince to the Comédie Française, where Voltaire's *Œdipus* was performed. This piece, I may observe, Bonaparte liked better than any thing Voltaire ever wrote. I was in the theatre, but not in the first consul's box, and I observed, as all present must have done, the eagerness with which the audience applied to Napoleon and the King of Etruria the line in which *Philoctetes* says—

*J'ai fait des souverains et n'ai pas voulu l'être.*

The application was so marked, that it could not fail afterwards to become the subject of conversation between the first consul and me. "You remarked it, Bourrienne?".... "Yes, General.".... "The fools!..... They shall see! They shall see!....."—We did indeed see; not content with making kings, Bonaparte, when his brow was encircled by a double crown, after creating princes, at length realized the object he had long contemplated; namely, to found a new nobility, endowed with hereditary rights. It was at the commencement of March, 1808, that he accomplished this project; and I saw in the *Moniteur* a long list of princes, dukes, counts, barons, and knights, of the empire: there were wanting only viscounts and merry-andrews.

At the same time that Bonaparte was founding a new nobility, he determined to raise up the old edifice of the university, but on a new foundation. The education of youth had always been one of his ruling ideas, and I had an opportunity of observing how he was changed by the exercise of sovereign power, when I received at Hamburg the statutes of the elder daughter of the Emperor of the French, and compared them with the ideas which Bonaparte, when general and first consul, had often expressed to me respecting a proper system of education for youth. Though the sworn enemy of every thing like liberty, Bonaparte had at first conceived a comprehensive system of education, comprising the study of history, and those positive sciences, such as geology and astronomy, which give the utmost degree of development to the human mind. The sovereign, however, shrunk from the first ideas of the man of genius, and his university, confided to the elegant subserviency of M. de Fontanes, was merely a school, capable of producing educated, but not enlightened men.

Before taking complete possession of Rome, and making it the second city of the empire, the vaunted moderation of Bonaparte was confined to dismembering from it the legations of Ancona, Urbino, Macerata, and Camerino, which were divided into three departments, and added to the kingdom of Italy. The patience of the holy see could no longer hold out against this act of violence, and Cardinal Caprara, who had remained in Paris since the coronation, at last left that capital. Shortly afterwards, the grand duchies of Parma and Placentia were united to the French empire, and annexed to the government of the departments beyond the Alps. These transactions were coincident with the events in Spain and Bayonne, before mentioned.

After the snare laid at Bayonne, the emperor entered Paris on the 14th of August, the eve of his birthday. Scarcely had he arrived in the capital, when he experienced fresh anxiety in consequence of the conduct of Russia, which, as I have stated, had declared open war with Sweden, and did not conceal the intention of seizing Finland. But Bonaparte, desirous of actively carrying on the war in Spain, felt the necessity of removing his troops from Prussia to the Pyrenees. He then hastened the interview at Erfurt, where the two emperors of France and Russia had agreed to meet. He hoped that this interview would ensure the tranquillity of the continent, while he should complete the subjection of Spain to the sceptre of Joseph. That prince had been proclaimed on the 8th of June; and on the 21st of the same month, he made his entry into Madrid, but having received, ten days after, information of the disaster at Baylen, he was obliged to leave the Spanish capital.

Bonaparte's wishes must at this time have been limited to the tranquillity of the continent; for the struggle between him and England was more than ever desperate. England had just sent troops to Portugal, under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley. There was no longer any hope of reconciliation with Great Britain. The interview at Erfurt having been determined on, the emperor, who had returned from Bayonne to Paris, again left the capital about the end of September, and arrived at Metz without stopping, except for the purpose of reviewing the regiments which were echeloned on his route, and which were on their march from the grand army to Spain.

I had heard some time previously of the interview which was about to take place, and which was so memorable in the

life of Napoleon. It excited so much interest in Germany, that the roads were covered with the equipages of the princes, who were going to Erfurt to witness the meeting. The emperor arrived there before Alexander, and went forward three leagues to meet him. Napoleon was on horseback, and Alexander in a carriage. They embraced, it is said, in a manner expressive of the most cordial friendship.\* This interview was witnessed by most of the sovereign princes of Germany. However, neither the King of Prussia nor the Emperor of Austria were present. The latter sovereign sent a letter to Napoleon, of which I obtained a copy. It was as follows :

SIRE, MY BROTHER,

My ambassador in Paris informs me, that your majesty is about to proceed to Erfurt to meet the Emperor Alexander. I eagerly seize the opportunity of your approach to my frontier, to renew those testimonials of friendship and esteem which I have pledged to you; and I send my lieutenant-general, Baron Vincent, to convey to you the assurance of my unalterable sentiments. If the false accounts that have been circulated respecting the internal institutions which I have established in my monarchy should for a moment have excited your majesty's doubts of my intentions, I flatter myself, that the explanations given on that subject by Count Metternich to your minister will have entirely removed them. Baron Vincent is enabled to confirm to your majesty all that has been said by Count Metternich on the subject, and to add any further explanations you may wish for. I beg that your majesty will grant him the same gracious reception he experienced at Paris and at Warsaw. The renewed marks of favour you may bestow on him will be an unequivocal pledge of the reciprocity of your sentiments, and will seal that confidence which will render our satisfaction mutual.

Deign to accept the assurance of the unalterable affection and respect, with which I am, Sire, my brother,

Your imperial and royal majesty's  
faithful brother and friend,

FRANCIS.

Presburg, Sept. 18, 1808.

This letter appears to be a model of ambiguity, by which it is impossible Napoleon could have been imposed upon. However, he had not yet any suspicion of the hostility of

\* Savary, who accompanied Napoleon to Erfurt, gives a very interesting account of the imperial interview. The reader will find it subjoined to the present chapter.—E. Ed.

Austria, which speedily became manifest; his grand object then was the Spanish business, and as I have before observed, one of the secrets of Napoleon's genius was, that he did not apply himself to more than one thing at a time.

At Erfurt Bonaparte attained the principal object he had promised himself by the meeting. Alexander acknowledged Joseph in his new character of King of Spain and the Indies. It has been said, that as the price of this acknowledgment, Napoleon consented that Alexander should have Swedish Finland: but for the truth of this I cannot vouch. However, I remember that when, after the interview at Erfurt, Alexander had given orders to his ambassador to Charles IV. to continue his functions under King Joseph, the Swedish chargé-d'affaires at Hamburg told me, that confidential letters he had received from Erfurt led him to fear that the emperor Alexander had communicated to Napoleon his designs on Finland, and that Napoleon had given his consent to the occupation. Be this as it may, as soon as the interview was over, Napoleon returned to Paris, where he presided, with much splendour, at the opening of the legislative body, and set out, in the month of November, for Spain.

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### THE INTERVIEW AT ERFURT.

"The whole of the month of September, 1808, was spent in settling the day for the departure of the respective sovereigns from St. Petersburg and Paris, so that each might regulate his journey, so as to arrive neither too soon nor too late.

"The Emperor Napoleon appointed the guards, provided the quarters, and defrayed the expenses of the tables, &c. not only for the Emperor of Russia, but also for the other sovereigns who attended the interview. Accordingly, a troop of cooks, stewards, and lackeys, were sent from the department of the grand marshal.

"The company of the Theatre Français also proceeded to Erfurt, for the purpose of performing our best tragedies and comedies. Finally, nothing, however trifling, was neglected that could contribute to the amusement of the sovereigns during their stay at Erfurt.

"The emperor left Paris at the end of September or beginning of October. He went straight to Metz, and on his way he inspected all the corps which were returning from the grand army to proceed to Spain. He stopped them on the road, and after



examining them man by man, ordered them to continue their march. In this manner he proceeded to Frankfort.

"The force which he had ordered to Spain was very considerable; for of all the vast army which was in Germany, he left behind only four divisions of infantry, with the cuirassiers, and a few regiments of light troops, that is to say, one-fourth of what there had previously been.

"The news of the interview at Erfurt excited great interest in Germany, and people thronged into the town from all parts. At the residence of the Prince Primate at Frankfort, a vast number of German princes had assembled to pay their respects to the emperor as he passed through the city. He slept at the residence of the prince primate; and among the company present were the Princes and Princesses of Baden, Darmstadt, and Nassau. They treated the emperor with all the honour due to the protector of the confederation of the Rhine; and they seemed to vie with each other in showing testimonials of their respect and submission.

"The emperor left Frankfort next day, and proceeded straight to Erfurt. On his way he met the King of Westphalia, who had come from Cassel to the frontiers of his states to receive him. M. de Caulincourt, the French ambassador in Russia, also came to meet the emperor, and he joined us between Erfurt and Gotha. He informed us that the Emperor of Russia was waiting at Weimar for the arrival of the Emperor Napoleon at Erfurt. We accordingly proceeded onward speedily, and arrived at Erfurt very early in the morning. Some troops had been brought into the town, and the first regiment of hussars was stationed in several detachments between Erfurt and Weimar, to render military honours to the Emperor Alexander.

"In conformity with arrangements which had no doubt been made beforehand, the emperor mounted on horseback, together with all who accompanied him. His retinue was followed by a horse for the Emperor of Russia; and the saddle which he was in the habit of using was even sent for from Weimar. It had been brought from St. Petersburg expressly for this occasion.

"The emperor had advanced about three leagues from Erfurt when we descried the retinue of the Emperor Alexander, whose carriage was followed by twelve or fifteen calashes. The Emperor Napoleon set off at full gallop, and alighted to embrace the Emperor of Russia when he got out of his carriage. The meeting was as amicable and cordial as the sentiments which the sovereigns mutually cherished towards each other. They both mounted their horses, and proceeded conversing together to Erfurt. The road was lined with the whole population of the surrounding country. The weather was delicious, and seemed to smile auspiciously on the event. The sovereigns were saluted by the artillery from the ramparts; the troops formed a double line, and all the persons of distinction who had come to Erfurt on this oc-

casion, were assembled at the residence which had been prepared for the Emperor Alexander, at the moment when he alighted from his horse accompanied by the Emperor Napoleon.

“The two sovereigns dined together that day, in company with the Grand Duke Constantine, who was with his brother. The grand marshal had stationed a man in the street to watch and give information when the Emperor of Russia’s carriage appeared in sight; and whenever Alexander visited the Emperor Napoleon, the latter always stood at the foot of the staircase to receive his guest. The same ceremony was observed when the Emperor Napoleon visited the Emperor of Russia. While they remained at Erfurt they always dined together, except on those days when they had private business to transact at their respective residences. Soon after the arrival of the two emperors at Erfurt, they were followed by the Kings of Saxony, Bavaria, Wirtemberg, and Westphalia, the Prince Primate, the Princes of Anhalt, Coburg, Saxe-Weimar, Darmstadt, Baden, Nassau, and all who conceived it to be their duty to render homage to such an assemblage of power.

“The King of Prussia did not come. He was represented by his brother, Prince William, who during a whole winter in Paris had endured the most painful situation in which a prince of his rank can possibly be placed, and whose conduct, under these trying circumstances, excited public interest and respect. He represented Prussia during the winter which followed the treaty of Tilsit.

“The Emperor of Austria was not present at the interview. The measures which he had taken, the levies and requisitions of every kind which he imposed on his states, had excited the remonstrances of France. His preparations were not finished. Protestations cost him little, and he resolved to make another attempt to deceive Napoleon. He sent General Vincent, whom he knew was agreeable to the emperor, to deliver to him a letter in which he sought to remove the doubts which had arisen respecting the constancy of his sentiments.

“The hereditary Princes of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Strelitz, were also at Erfurt.

“The Emperor Napoleon had brought with him M. de Champagny, the minister for foreign affairs. He had, besides, M. de Talleyrand, and, as usual, M. Maret, and the Prince de Neuchâtel.

“General Oudinot had been sent as governor to Erfurt, and Marshal Soult, whose corps was proceeding to Spain, remained at Erfurt all the time the emperor stayed there. His troops marched on before him, and he rejoined them at Bayonne.

“Several German princesses were also at Erfurt. Among them were the Princess of Baden, together with some from the different surrounding countries, the Princess of Tour and Taxis,

and the Princess of Wirtemberg, born Coburg, &c. The mornings were invariably spent in visiting. Large dinner-parties were formed, and dramatic representations were given in the evening. As the Emperor of Russia was known to be rather deaf, the company was arranged so that all the sovereigns sat near the orchestra. I recollect that, during the performance of *Œdipus*, when the following passage occurred—'The friendship of a great man is a blessing of Heaven,' Alexander turned towards the Emperor Napoleon with the intention of applying the line to him. A murmur of approbation, which ran through the company, showed that the force and justice of the application was felt. In this agreeable manner time slipped away almost imperceptibly at Erfurt."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo*, vol. ii. part I. p. 299.

## CHAPTER XV.

The Spanish troops in Hamburg—Romana's siesta—His departure for Funen—Celebration of Napoleon's birthday—Romana's defection—English agents and the Dutch troops—Facility of communication between England and the continent—Delay of couriers from Russia—Alarm and complaints—The people of Hamburg—Montesquieu and the minister of the Grand Duke of Tuscany—Invitations at six months—Napoleon's journey to Italy—Adoption of Eugène—Lucien's daughter and the Prince of the Asturias—M. Auguste de Staël's interview with Napoleon.

PREVIOUS to the interview at Erfurt, an event took place which created a strong interest in Hamburg, and throughout Europe; an event which was planned and executed with inconceivable secrecy. I allude to the defection of the Marquis de la Romana, which I have not hitherto noticed, in order that I might not separate the different facts which came to my knowledge relative to that defection, and the circumstances which accompanied it.

The Marquis de la Romana had come to the Hanse Towns at the head of an army corps of eighteen thousand men, which the emperor, in the preceding campaign, claimed in virtue of treaties previously concluded with the Spanish government. The Spanish troops at first met with a good reception in the Hanse Towns. The difference of language, indeed, occasionally caused discord; but, when better acquainted, the inhabitants and their visitors became good friends. The Marquis de la Romana was a little swarthy man, of unprepossessing, and rather common, appearance; but he had a considerable share of talent and information. He had travelled in almost every part of Europe, and as he had been a close observer of all he saw, his conversation was exceedingly agreeable and instructive.

During his stay at Hamburg, General Romana spent almost

every evening at my house, and invariably fell asleep over a game at whist. Madame de Bourrienne was usually his partner, and I recollect he perpetually offered apologies for his involuntary breach of good manners. This, however, did not hinder him from being guilty of the same offence next evening. I will presently explain the cause of this regular siesta.

On the King of Spain's birthday, the Marquis de la Romana gave a magnificent entertainment. The decorations of the ball-room consisted of military attributes. The marquis did the honours with infinite grace, and paid particular attention to the French generals. He always spoke of the emperor in very respectful terms, without any appearance of affectation, so that it was impossible to suspect him of harbouring a bad design. He played his part to the last with the utmost address. At Hamburg we had already received intelligence of the fatal result of the battle of the Sierra Morena, and of the capitulation of Dupont, which disgraced him at the very moment when the whole army marked him out as the man most likely to receive the baton of Marshal of France.

Meanwhile, the Marquis de la Romana departed for the Danish island of Funen, in compliance with the order which Marshal Bernadotte had transmitted to him. There, as at Hamburg, the Spaniards were well liked, for their general obliged them to observe the strictest discipline. Great preparations were made in Hamburg on the approach of Saint Napoleon's day, which was then celebrated with much solemnity in every town in which France had representatives. The Prince de Ponte-Corvo was then at Travemunde, a small seaport near Lubeck; but that did not prevent him from giving directions for the festival of the 15th of August. The Marquis de la Romana, the better to deceive the marshal, despatched a courier, requesting permission to visit Hamburg on the day of the fête, in order to join his prayers to those of the French, and to receive, on the day of the fête, from the hands of the prince, the grand order of the Legion of Honour, which he had solicited, and which Napoleon had granted him. Three days after, Bernadotte received intelligence of the defection of de la Romana.—The marquis assembled a great number of English vessels on the coast, and escaped with all his troops, except a depôt of six hundred men left at Altona. We afterwards heard that he experienced no interruption on his passage, and that he landed with his troops at Corunna. I now knew to what to attribute the drowsiness which always overcame the Marquis de la Romana when he sat down

to take a hand at whist. The fact was, he sat up all night making preparations for the escape which he had long meditated; while, to lull suspicion, he showed himself every where during the day, as usual.\*

On the defection of the Spanish troops, I received letters from government requiring me to augment my vigilance, and to seek out those persons who might be supposed to have been in the confidence of the Marquis de la Romana. I was informed that English agents, dispersed through the Hanse Towns, were endeavouring to foment discord and dissatisfaction among the King of Holland's troops. These manœuvres were connected with the treason of the Spaniards, and the arrival of Danican in Denmark. Insubordination had already broken out, but it was promptly repressed. Two Dutch soldiers were shot for striking their officers, but notwithstanding this severity, desertion among the troops increased to an alarming degree. Indefatigable agents, in the pay of the English government, laboured incessantly to seduce the soldiers of King Louis from their duty. Some of these agents being denounced to me, were taken almost in the fact, and positive proof being adduced of their guilt, they were condemned to death.

These indispensable examples of severity did not check the manœuvres of England, though they served to cool the zeal of her agents. I used every endeavour to second the Prince of Ponte-Corvo in tracing out the persons employed

\* The Marquis of Londonderry's "Narrative of the Peninsular War," contains the following particulars relative to Romana's defection :

"Whilst the naval and military commanders in the Mediterranean were exerting themselves, an effort was made in the north, and made with the most complete success, to restore to the service of his country one of the ablest officers of which Spain could at that time boast. One of Bonaparte's first measures, when meditating the subjugation of the Peninsula, was to demand from Spain a corps of sixteen thousand veteran troops, whom, under the Marquis de la Romana, he employed for a time upon the banks of the Vistula, and afterwards removed to the shores of the Great Belt. They were distributed at different points in that district, when the standard of independence was raised; and one of the earliest measures of the supreme junta was to issue a proclamation, calling upon them, in the name of their country, to return to its defence. This was necessarily consigned to the care of the British cruisers; and it was not given to them in vain. A scheme for its delivery, as well as for the removal of the soldiers, should they, as it was believed they would, desire to comply with its terms, was immediately devised at London; and the execution of it was committed to Vice-Admiral Keats, an officer well worthy of the trust. It succeeded to admiration; and seven thousand men, with Romana at their head, were transferred from the ranks of the enemy, at a moment of peculiar interest, to those of the patriotic army."—*E. Ed.*

by England. It was chiefly from the small island of Heligoland that they found their way to the continent. This communication was facilitated by the numerous vessels scattered about the small islands which lie thick along that coast. Five or six pieces of gold defrayed the expense of the passage to or from Heligoland. Thus the Spanish news, which was printed and often fabricated at London, was profusely circulated in the north of Germany. Packets of papers, addressed to merchants and well-known persons in the German towns, were put into the post-offices of Embden Knipphausen, Varel, Oldenburg, Delmenhorst, and Bremen. Generally speaking, this part of the coast was not sufficiently well watched to prevent espionage and smuggling; with regard to smuggling, indeed, no power could have entirely prevented it. The continental system had made it a necessity, so that a great part of the population depended on it for subsistence.

In the beginning of December, 1808, we remarked that the Russian courier, who passed through Königsberg and Berlin, was regularly delayed four, five, and even six hours, on his way to Hamburg. The trading portion of the population, always suspicious, became alarmed at this change in the courier's hours, into which they inquired, and soon discovered the cause. It was ascertained that two agents had been stationed, by the postmaster of the grand duchy of Berg at Hamburg, in a village called Eschburg, belonging to the province of Lauenburg. There the courier from Berlin was stopped, and his packets and letters opened. As soon as these facts were known in Hamburg, there was a general consternation among the trading class—that is to say, the whole population of the city. The intelligence soon reached the ears of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo, and was confirmed by the official report of the commissioner for the imperial and royal post-office, who complained of the delay of the courier, of the confusion of the packets, and of want of confidence in the imperial post-office. This examination of the letters, sometimes, perhaps, necessary, but often dangerous, and always extremely delicate, created additional alarm, on account of the persons to whom the business was intrusted. If the emperor wished to be made acquainted with the correspondence of certain persons in the north, it would have been natural to have consigned the business to his agents and his commissioner at Hamburg, and not to two unknown individuals—another inconvenience attending *black cabinets*. At

my suggestion, the Prince of Ponte-Corvo gave orders for putting a stop to the clandestine business at Echsburg.

But for the pain of witnessing vexations of this sort, which I had not always power to prevent, especially after Bernadotte's removal, my residence at Hamburg would have been delightful. Those who have visited that town know the advantages it possesses from its charming situation on the Elbe, and above all, the delightful country which surrounds it like a garden, and extends to the distance of more than a league along the banks of the Eyder. The manners and customs of the inhabitants bear the stamp of peculiarity; they are fond of pursuing their occupations in the open air. The old men are often seen sitting round tables placed before their doors sipping tea, while the children play before them, and the young people are at their work. These groups have a very picturesque effect, and convey a gratifying idea of the happiness of the people. On seeing the worthy citizens of Hamburg assembled round their doors, I could not help thinking of a beautiful remark of Montesquieu. When he went to Florence with a letter of recommendation to the prime minister of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, he found him sitting at the threshold of his door, inhaling the fresh air, and conversing with some friends.—“I see,” said Montesquieu, “that I am arrived among a happy people, since their prime minister can enjoy his leisure moments thus.”—A sort of patriarchal simplicity characterizes the manners of the inhabitants of Hamburg: they do not visit each other much, and only by invitation; but on such occasions they display great luxury beneath their simple exterior. They are methodical and punctual to an extraordinary degree. Of this I recollect a curious instance:—I was very intimate with Baron Woght, a man of talent and information, and exceedingly amiable manners. One day he called to make us a farewell visit, as he intended to set out on the following day for Paris. On Madame de Bourrienne expressing a hope that he would not protract his absence beyond six months, the period he had fixed upon, he replied, “Be assured, Madame, nothing shall prevent me getting home on the day I have appointed, for I have invited a party of friends to dine with me on the day after my return.” The baron returned at the appointed time, and none of his guests required to be reminded of his invitation at six months' date.

Napoleon so well knew the effect which his presence pro-



duced, that after a conquest, he loved to show himself to the people whose territories he added to the empire. Duroc, who always accompanied him when he was not engaged on missions, gave me a curious account of Napoleon's journey in 1807 to Venice, and the other Italian provinces, which, conformably with the treaty of Presburg, were annexed to the kingdom of Italy.

In this journey to the kingdom of Italy, Napoleon had several important objects in view. He was planning great alliances; and he loaded Eugène with favours for the purpose of sounding him, and preparing him for his mother's divorce.

There can be no doubt that Bonaparte now seriously contemplated his divorce from Josephine. Had there been no other proof of this, I, who had learned to read Bonaparte's thoughts in his acts, saw a decided one in the decree of Milan, by which, in default of lawful male heirs, he adopted Eugène as his son and successor to the crown of Italy. Lucien proceeded to Mantua, on the invitation of his brother, and that interview was the last they had before the hundred days. In spite of his republican stoicism, Lucien did not very seriously object to have a Bourbon king for his son-in-law. He consented to give his daughter to the Prince of the Asturias; but the marriage did not take place. It was during this journey that Napoleon united Tuscany to the empire.

Bonaparte returned to Paris on the 1st. of January, 1808. On his way, he stopped for a short time at Chambéry, where a young man had been waiting for him several days. This was Madame de Staël's son, who was then not more than seventeen years of age. M. Auguste de Staël lodged at the house of the postmaster of Chambéry, and as the emperor was expected in the course of the night, he gave orders that he should be called up on the arrival of the first courier. The couriers, who had been delayed on the road, did not arrive until six in the morning, and were almost immediately followed by the emperor himself, so that M. de Staël was awakened by the cries of *Vive l'empereur!* He had just time to dress himself hastily, and fly to meet Napoleon, to whom he delivered a letter, which he had prepared beforehand, for the purpose of soliciting an audience. Lauriston, the aide-de-camp on duty, took the letter, it being his business to receive all the letters and petitions which were presented to Napoleon on his way. Before breakfast, the emperor opened the letters which Lauriston had laid on the table; he merely looked at the signatures, and then laid them aside. On

opening M. de Staël's letter, he said, "Ah! ah! what have we here? a letter from M. de Staël! . . . He wishes to see me. . . . What can he want? . . . Can there be any thing in common between me and the refugees of Geneva?"—"Sire," observed Lauriston, "he is a very young man; and, as well as I could judge from the little I saw of him, there is something very prepossessing in his appearance."—"A very young man, say you? . . . Oh, then, I will see him. . . . Rustan, tell him to come in." M. de Staël presented himself to Napoleon with modesty, but without any unbecoming timidity. When he had respectfully made his obedience to the emperor, a conversation ensued between them, which Duroc described to me in nearly the following manner:

As M. de Staël advanced towards the emperor, the latter said, "Whence do you come?"—"From Geneva, Sire."—"Where is your mother?"—"She is either in Vienna, or will soon be there."—"At Vienna? . . . Well, that is where she ought to be; and I suppose she is happy. . . . She will now have a good opportunity of learning German."—"Sire, how can you imagine my mother is happy when she is absent from her country and her friends? If I were permitted to lay before your Majesty my mother's confidential letter, you would see how unhappy she is in her exile."—"Ah, bah! your mother unhappy, indeed! . . . However, I do not mean to say she is altogether bad. . . . She has talent—perhaps too much; and hers is an unbridled talent. She was educated amidst the chaos of the subverted monarchy and the revolution; and out of these events she makes an amalgamation of her own! All this is very dangerous. Her enthusiasm is likely to make proselytes. I must keep watch upon her. She does not like me; and for the interests of those whom she would compromise, I must prohibit her from coming to Paris."

Young de Staël stated, that his object in seeking the interview with the emperor, was to petition for his mother's return to Paris. Napoleon having listened without impatience to the reasons he urged in support of his request, said, "But supposing I were to permit your mother to return to Paris, six months would not elapse before I should be obliged to send her to Bicêtre, or to the Temple. This I should be sorry to do; because the affair would make a noise, and injure me in public opinion. Tell your mother that my determination is formed, that my decision is irrevocable. She shall never set foot in Paris as long as I live."—"Sire, I cannot believe that you would arbitrarily imprison my mother, if she gave you no

reason for such severity.”—“She would give me fifty! . . . I know her well.”—“Sire, permit me to say, that I am certain my mother would live in Paris in a way that would afford no ground of reproach; she would live retired, and would see only a very few friends. In spite of your Majesty’s refusal, I venture to entreat that you will give her a trial, were it only for six weeks, or a month. Permit her, Sire, to pass that time in Paris, and I conjure you to come to no final decision beforehand.”—“Do you think I am to be deceived by these fair promises? . . . I tell you it cannot be. She would enrol herself under the banner of the Faubourg St. Germain. She see nobody, indeed! Could she make that sacrifice? She would visit, and receive company. She would be guilty of a thousand follies. She would be saying things which she may consider as very good jokes, but which I should take seriously. My government is no joke: I wish this to be well known by every body.”—“Sire, will your Majesty permit me to repeat, that my mother has no wish whatever to mingle in society. She would confine herself to the circle of a few friends, a list of whom she would give to your Majesty. You, Sire, who love France so well, may form some idea of the misery my mother suffers in her banishment. I conjure your Majesty to yield to my entreaties, and let us be included in the number of your faithful subjects.”—“You!”—“Yes, Sire; or if your Majesty persist in your refusal, permit a son to inquire what can have raised your displeasure against his mother. Some say, that it was my grandfather’s last work; but I can assure your Majesty, that my mother had nothing to do with that.”—“Yes, certainly,” added Napoleon, with more ill-humour than he had hitherto manifested. “Yes, certainly, that work is very objectionable. Your grandfather was an ideologist, a fool, an old maniac. At sixty years of age, to think of forming plans to overthrow my constitution! States would be well governed, truly, under such theorists; who judge of men from books, and the world from the map.”—“Sire, since my grandfather’s plans are, in your Majesty’s eyes, nothing but vain theories, I cannot conceive why they should so highly excite your displeasure. There is no political economist, who has not traced out plans of constitutions.”—“Oh! as to political economists, they are mere visionaries, who are dreaming of plans of finance while they are unfit to fulfil the duties of a schoolmaster in the most insignificant village in the empire. Your grandfather’s work is that of an obstinate old man, who died abusing all governments.”—

“Sire, may I presume to suppose, from the way in which you speak of it, that your Majesty judges from the report of malignant persons, and that you have not yourself read it.”—“That is a mistake. I have read it myself, from beginning to end.”—“Then your Majesty must have seen how my grandfather renders justice to your genius.”—“Fine justice, truly! . . . . He calls me the indispensable man, but, judging from his arguments, the best thing that could be done would be to cut my throat! Yes, I was, indeed, indispensable to repair the follies of your grandfather, and the mischief he did to France. It was he who overturned the monarchy, and led Louis XVI. to the scaffold.”—“Sire, you seem to forget that my grandfather’s property was confiscated because he defended the king.”—“Defended the king! A fine defence, truly! You might as well say, that if I give a man poison, and present him with an antidote when he is in the agonies of death, that I wish to save him! Yet, that is the way your grandfather defended Louis XVI. . . . As to the confiscation you speak of, what does that prove? Nothing. Why, the property of Robespierre was confiscated! And let me tell you, that Robespierre himself, Marat, and Danton, have done less mischief to France than M. Necker. It was he who brought about the revolution. You, Monsieur de Staël, did not see this; but I did. I witnessed all that passed in those days of terror and public calamity. But, as long as I live, those days shall never return. Your speculators trace their Eutopian schemes upon paper; fools read, and believe them. All are babbling about general happiness, and presently the people have not bread to eat: then comes a revolution. Such is usually the fruit of all these fine theories! Your grandfather was the cause of the saturnalia which desolated France.”

Duroc informed me that the emperor uttered these last words in a tone of fury which made all present tremble for young de Staël. Fortunately, the young man did not lose his self-possession in the conflict, while the agitated expression of his countenance evidently showed what was passing in his mind. He was sufficiently master of himself to reply to the emperor in a calm, though rather faltering, voice:—“Sire, permit me to hope that posterity will judge of my grandfather more favourably than your Majesty does. During his administration he was ranked by the side of Sully and Colbert; and let me repeat again, that I trust posterity will render him justice.”—“Posterity will, probably, say little about him.”—“I venture to hope the contrary, Sire.”

Then, added Duroc, the emperor turning to us said, with a smile, "After all, gentlemen, it is not for me to say too much ill of the revolution, since I have caught a throne by it." Then again turning to M. de Staël, he said, "The reign of anarchy is at end. I must have subordination. Respect the sovereign authority, since it comes from God. You are young, and well-educated; therefore, follow a better course, and avoid those bad principles which compromise the welfare of society."—"Sire, since your Majesty does me the honour to think me well educated, you ought not to condemn the principles of my grandfather and my mother; for it is in those principles that I have been brought up."—"Well, I advise you to keep right in politics; for I will not pardon any offences of the Necker kind. Every one should keep right in politics."

This conversation, Duroc informed me, had continued the whole time of breakfast, and the emperor rose just as he pronounced these last words: "Every one should keep right in politics." At that moment young de Staël again renewed his solicitations for his mother's recal from exile. Bonaparte then stepped up to him, and pinched his ear with that air of familiarity which was customary to him when he was in good humour, or wished to appear so. "You are young," said he, "If you had my age and experience, you would judge of things more correctly. I am far from being displeased with your frankness. I like to see a son plead his mother's cause. Your mother has given you a difficult commission, and you have executed it cleverly. I am glad I have had this opportunity of conversing with you. I love to talk with young people, when they are unassuming, and not too fond of arguing. But in spite of that, I will not hold out false hopes to you. Murat has already spoken to me on the subject, and I have told him, as I now tell you, that my will is irrevocable. If your mother were in prison, I should not hesitate to liberate her; but nothing shall induce me to recal her from exile."—"But, Sire, is she not as unhappy in being banished from her country and her friends as if she were in prison?"—"Oh! those are your mother's romantic ideas. She is exceedingly unhappy, and much to be pitied, no doubt! . . . . With the exception of Paris, she has all Europe for her prison."—"But, Sire, her friends are in Paris."—"With her talents, she may make friends any where. After all, I cannot understand why she should be so anxious to come to Paris. Why should she wish to place herself immediately within the reach of my tyranny? Can she not go to Rome, to Berlin, to Vienna, to

Milan, or to London? Yes, let her go to London; that is the place for her. There she may libel me as much as she pleases. In short, she has my full liberty to be any where but in Paris. You see, Monsieur de Staël, that is the place of my residence, and there I will have only those who are attached to me. I know, from experience, that if I were to allow your mother to come to Paris, she would spoil every body about me. She would finish the spoiling of Garat. It was she who ruined the tribunate. I know she would promise wonders; but she cannot refrain from meddling with politics."—"I can assure your Majesty, that my mother does not now concern herself about politics. She devotes herself exclusively to the society of her friends and to literature."—"Ah, there it is! . . . Literature! Do you think I am to be imposed upon by that word? While discoursing on literature, morals, the fine arts, and such matters, it is easy to dabble in politics. Let women mind their knitting. If your mother were in Paris, I should hear all sorts of reports about her. Things might, indeed, be falsely attributed to her; but, be that as it may, I will have nothing of the kind going on in the capital in which I reside. All things considered, advise your mother to go to London. That is the best place for her. As for your grandfather, I have not spoken too severely of him. M. Necker knew nothing of the art of government. I have learned something of the matter during the last twenty years."—"All the world, Sire, renders justice to your Majesty's genius, and there is no one but acknowledges that the finances of France are now more prosperous than ever they were before your reign. But, permit me to observe, that your Majesty must, doubtless, have seen some merit in the financial regulations of my grandfather, since you have adopted some of them in the admirable system you have established."—"That proves nothing; for two or three good ideas do not constitute a good system. Be that as it may, I say again, I will never allow your mother to return to Paris."—"But, Sire, if sacred interests should absolutely require her presence there for a few days, would not . . .?"—"How! Sacred interests! What do you mean?"—"Yes, Sire, if you do not allow her to return, I shall be obliged to go there, unaided by her advice, in order to recover from your Majesty's government the payment of a sacred debt."—"Ah! bah! Sacred! Are not all the debts of the state sacred?"—"Doubtless, Sire; but ours is attended with circumstances which give it a peculiar character."—"A peculiar character! Nonsense! Does not every state creditor say the same of his debt? Be-

sides, I know nothing of your claim. It does not concern me, and I will not meddle with it. If you have the law on your side, so much the better; but if you want favour, I tell you I will not interfere. If I did, I should be rather against you than otherwise."—"Sire, my brother and myself had intended to settle in France? but how can we live in a country where our mother cannot visit us?"—"I do not care for that. I do not advise you to come here. Go to England. The English like wrangling politicians. Go there, for in France, I tell you candidly, that I should be rather against you than for you."

"After this conversation," added Duroc, "the emperor got into the carriage with me, without stopping to look to the other petitions which had been presented to him. He preserved unbroken silence until he got nearly opposite the cascade, on the left of the road, a few leagues from Chambéry. He appeared to be absorbed in reflection. At length he said, 'I fear I have been somewhat too harsh with [this young man. . . . . But no matter, it will prevent others from troubling me. These people calumniate every thing I do. They do not understand me, Duroc; their place is not in France. How can Necker's family be for the Bourbons, whose first duty, if ever they returned to France, would be to hang them all?'"

This conversation, related to me by Duroc, interested me so much that I noted it down on paper immediately after our interview.

## CHAPTER XVI.

The republic of Batavia—The crown of Holland offered to Louis—Offer and refusal of the crown of Spain—Napoleon's attempt to get possession of Brabant—Napoleon before and after Erfurt—A remarkable letter to Louis—Louis summoned to Paris—His honesty and courage—His bold language—Louis's return to Holland, and his letter to Napoleon—Harsh letter from Napoleon to Louis—Affray at Amsterdam—Napoleon's displeasure and last letter to his brother—Louis's abdication in favour of his son—Union of Holland to the French empire—Protest of Louis against that measure—Letter from M. Otto to Louis.

WHILE Bonaparte was the chief of the French republic, he had no objection to the existence of a Batavian republic in the north of France, and he equally tolerated the Cisalpine republic in the south. But after the coronation all the republics, which were grouped like satellites round the grand republic, were converted into kingdoms, subject to the empire, if not avowedly, at least in fact. In this respect there was no difference between the Batavian and Cisalpine republic. The latter having been metamorphosed into the kingdom of Italy, it was necessary to find some pretext for transforming the former into the kingdom of Holland. The government of the republic of Batavia had been for some time past merely the shadow of a government; but still it preserved, even in its submission to France, those internal forms of freedom which console a nation for the loss of independence. The emperor kept up such an extensive agency in Holland, that he easily got up a deputation, soliciting him to choose a king for the Batavian republic. This submissive deputation came to Paris in 1806, to solicit the emperor, as a favour, to place Prince Louis on the throne of Holland. The address of the deputation, the answer of Napoleon, and the speech of Louis on being raised to the sovereign dignity, have all been published.



Louis became King of Holland much against his inclination, for he opposed the proposition as much as he dared, alleging as an objection the state of his health, to which certainly the climate of Holland was not favourable; but Bonaparte sternly replied to his remonstrance—"It is better to die a king than live a prince." He was then obliged to accept the crown. He went to Holland accompanied by Hortense, who, however, did not stay long there. The new king wanted to make himself beloved by his subjects, and as they were an entirely commercial people, the best way to win their affections was not to adopt Napoleon's rigid laws against commercial intercourse with England. Hence the first coolness between the two brothers, which ended in the abdication of Louis.

I know not whether Napoleon recollected the motive assigned by Louis for at first refusing the crown of Holland, namely, the climate of the country, or whether he calculated upon greater submission in another of his brothers; but this is certain, that Joseph was not called from the throne of Naples to the throne of Spain, until after the refusal of Louis. I have in my possession a copy of the letter written to him by Napoleon on the subject. It is without date of time or place; but its contents prove it to have been written in March or April, 1808. It is as follows:

BROTHER,

The King of Spain, Charles IV., has just abdicated. The Spanish people loudly appeal to me. Sure of obtaining no solid peace with England, unless I cause a great movement on the continent, I have determined to place a French king on the throne of Spain. The climate of Holland does not agree with you; besides, Holland cannot rise from her ruins. In the whirlwind of events, whether we have peace or not, there is no possibility of maintaining it. In this state of things, I have thought of the throne of Spain for you. Give me, categorically, your opinion on this measure. If I were to name you King of Spain would you accept the offer? May I count on you? Answer me these two questions. Say "I have received your letter of such a day, I answer, *yes*;" and then I shall count on your doing what I wish; or say "*No*," if you decline my proposition. Let no one enter into your confidence, and mention to no one the object of this letter. The thing must be done before we confess having thought about it.

NAPOLEON.

Before finally seizing Holland, Napoleon formed the project of separating from it Brabant and Zealand, in exchange for

other provinces, the possession of which was doubtful; but Louis successfully resisted this first act of usurpation. Bonaparte was too intent on the great business in Spain to risk any commotion in the north, where the declaration of Russia against Sweden already sufficiently occupied him. He therefore did not insist upon, and even affected indifference to the proposed augmentation of the territory of the empire. This, at least, may be collected from another letter, dated Saint Cloud, August 17, written upon hearing from M. Alexander de la Rochefoucauld, his ambassador in Holland, and from his brother himself, the opposition of Louis to his project.

The letter was as follows :

BROTHER,

I have received your letter relative to that of the Sieur de la Rochefoucauld. He was only authorized to make the proposition indirectly. Since the exchange does not please you, let us think no more about it. It was useless to make a parade of principles, though I never said that you ought not to consult the nation. The well-informed part of the Dutch people had already acknowledged their indifference to the loss of Brabant, which is connected with France rather than with Holland, and interspersed with expensive fortresses; it might have been advantageously exchanged for rich northern provinces. But once for all, since you do not like this arrangement, let no more be said about it. It was useless even to mention it to me; for the Sieur de la Rochefoucauld was instructed merely to hint the matter.

Though ill-humour here evidently peeps out beneath affected condescension, yet the tone of this letter is singularly moderate. I may even say, kind, in comparison with other letters which Napoleon addressed to Louis. This letter, it is true, was written previous to the interview at Erfurt, when Napoleon, to avoid alarming Russia, made his ambition appear to slumber. But when he got his brother Joseph recognised, and when he had himself struck an important blow in the peninsula, he began to change his tone to Louis. On the 20th of December he wrote to him a very remarkable letter, which exhibits the unreserved expression of that tyranny which he wished to exercise over all his family, in order to make them the instruments of his despotism. He reproached Louis for not following his system of policy, telling him that he had forgotten he was a Frenchman, and that he wished to become a Dutchman. Among other things he said—

Your Majesty has done more ; you took advantage of the moment when I was involved in the affairs of the continent, to renew the relations between Holland and England—to violate the laws of the blockade, which are the only means of effectually destroying the latter power. I expressed my dissatisfaction of your conduct, by forbidding you to come to France, and I have made you feel, that even without the assistance of my armies, by merely closing the Rhine, the Weser, the Scheldt, and the Meuse, against Holland, I should have placed her in a situation more critical than if I had declared war against her. Your Majesty implored my generosity, appealed to my feelings as a brother, and promised to alter your conduct. I thought this warning would be sufficient. I raised my custom-house prohibitions ; but your Majesty has returned to your old system. . . . . Your Majesty received all the American ships that presented themselves in the ports of Holland, after having been expelled from those of France. I have been obliged a second time to prohibit trade with Holland. In this state of things we may consider ourselves really at war. In my speech to the legislative body I manifested my displeasure ; for I will not conceal from you, that my intention is to unite Holland with France. This will be the most severe blow I can aim against England, and will deliver me from the perpetual insults which the plotters of your cabinet are constantly directing against me. The mouths of the Rhine, and of the Meuse, ought, indeed, to belong to me. The principle that the *Thalweg* (towing path) of the Rhine, is the boundary of France, is a fundamental principle. Your Majesty writes to me on the 17th, that you are sure of being able to prevent all trade between Holland and England. I am of opinion that your Majesty promises more than you can fulfil. I shall, however, raise my custom-house prohibitions, whenever the existing treaties may be executed. The following are my conditions :—First. The interdiction of all trade and communication with England. Second. The supply of a fleet of fourteen sail of the line, seven frigates and seven brigs or corvettes, armed and manned. Third. An army of twenty-five thousand men. Fourth. The suppression of the rank of marshals. Fifth. The abolition of all the privileges of nobility, which are contrary to the constitution. Your Majesty may negotiate on these bases with the Duke de Cadore, through the medium of your minister ; but be assured, that on the entrance of the first packet-boat into Holland, I will restore my prohibitions, and that the first Dutch officer who may presume to insult my flag, shall be seized and hanged at the main-yard. Your Majesty will find in me a brother if you prove yourself a Frenchman ; but if you forget the sentiments which attach you to our common country, you cannot think it extraordinary that I should lose sight of those which nature has raised between us. In short, the union of Holland

and France will be, of all things, most useful to France, Holland and the continent, because it will be most injurious to England. This union must be effected willingly, or by force. Holland has given me sufficient reason to declare war against her. However, I shall not scruple to consent to an arrangement which will secure to me the limit of the Rhine, and by which Holland will pledge herself to fulfil the conditions stipulated above.

Here the correspondence between the two brothers was suspended for a time; but Louis still continued exposed to new vexations on the part of Napoleon. About the end of 1809, the emperor summoned to Paris the sovereigns who might be called his vassals. Among the number was Louis, who, however, did not show himself very willing to quit his states. He called a council of his ministers, who were of opinion that for the interest of Holland he ought to make this new sacrifice. He did so with resignation. Indeed, every day passed on the throne was a sacrifice to Louis.

He lived very retired in Paris, and was closely watched by the police; for it was supposed that as he had come against his will, he would not protract his stay as long as Napoleon wished. The supervision under which he found himself placed, added to the other circumstances of his situation, inspired him with a degree of energy of which he was not believed to be capable; and amidst the general silence of the servants of the empire, and even of the kings and princes assembled in the capital, he ventured to say, "I have been deceived by promises which were never intended to be kept. Holland is tired of being the sport of France." The emperor, who was unused to such language as this, was highly incensed at it. Louis had now no alternative, but to yield to the incessant exactions of Napoleon, or to see Holland united to France. He chose the latter, though not before he had exerted all his feeble power in behalf of the subjects whom Napoleon had consigned to him; but he would not be the accomplice of him who had resolved to make those subjects the victims of his hatred against England. Who, indeed, could be so blind as not to see, that the ruin of the continent would be the triumph of British commerce?

Louis was, however, permitted to return to his estates, to contemplate the stagnating effect of the continental blockade on every branch of trade and industry, formerly so active in Holland. Distressed at witnessing evils to which he could apply no remedy, he endeavoured by some prudent remon-

stances to avert the utter ruin with which Holland was threatened. On the 23d of March, 1810, he wrote the following letter to Napoleon :

If you wish to consolidate the present state of France, to obtain maritime peace, or to attack England with advantage, those objects are not to be obtained by measures like the blockading system ; the destruction of a kingdom raised by yourself, or the enfeebling of your allies, and setting at defiance their most sacred rights and the first principles of the law of nations. You should, on the contrary, win their affections for France, and consolidate and reinforce your allies, making them like your brothers, in whom you may place confidence. The destruction of Holland, far from being a means of assailing England, will serve only to increase her strength, by all the industry and wealth, which will fly to her for refuge. There are, in reality, only three ways of assailing England, namely, by detaching Ireland, getting possession of the East Indies, or by invasion. These two latter modes, which would be the most effectual, cannot be executed without naval force. But I am astonished that the first should have been so easily relinquished. That is a more secure mode of obtaining peace on good conditions than the system of injuring ourselves for the sake of committing a greater injury upon the enemy.

LOUIS.

Written remonstrances were not more to Napoleon's taste than verbal ones at a time when, as I was informed by my friends, whom fortune chained to his destiny, no one presumed to address a word to him, except to answer his questions. Cambacérès, who alone had retained that privilege in public as his old colleague in the consulate, lost it after Napoleon's marriage with the daughter of Imperial Austria. His brother's letter highly roused his displeasure. Two months after he received it, being on a journey in the north, he addressed to Louis from Ostend a letter, which cannot be read without a feeling of pain, since it serves to show how weak are the most sacred ties of blood in comparison with the interests of an insatiable policy. This letter was as follows :

BROTHER,

In the situation in which we are placed, it is best to speak candidly. I know your secret sentiments, and all that you can say to the contrary can avail nothing. Holland is certainly in a melancholy situation. I believe you are anxious to extricate her from her difficulties : it is you, and you alone, who can do this. When you conduct yourself in such a way as to induce the people of Holland to believe that you act under my influence, that all your

measures and all your sentiments are conformable with mine, then you will be loved, you will be esteemed, and you will acquire the power requisite for re-establishing Holland: when to be my friend, and the friend of France will be a title of favour at your court, Holland will be in her natural situation. Since your return from Paris, you have done nothing to effect this object. What will be the result of your conduct? Your subjects bandied about between France and England, will throw themselves into the arms of France, and will demand to be united to her. You know my character, which is to pursue my object unimpeded by any consideration. What, therefore, do you expect me to do? I can dispense with Holland; but Holland cannot dispense with my protection. If, under the dominion of one of my brothers, but looking to me alone for her welfare, she does not find in her sovereign my image, all confidence in your government is at an end; your sceptre is broken. Love France, love my glory—that is the only way to serve Holland. If you had acted as you ought to have done, that country, having become a part of my empire, would have been the more dear to me, since I had given her a sovereign whom I almost regarded as my son. In placing you on the throne of Holland, I thought I had placed a French citizen there. You have followed a course diametrically opposite to what I expected. I have been forced to prohibit you from coming to France, and to take possession of a part of your territory. In proving yourself a bad Frenchman, you are less to the Dutch than a Prince of Orange, to whose family they owe their rank as a nation, and a long succession of prosperity and glory. By your banishment from France, the Dutch are convinced that they have lost what they would not have lost under a Schimmelpenninck, or a Prince of Orange. Prove yourself a Frenchman, and the brother of the emperor, and be assured that, thereby, you will serve the interests of Holland. But you seem to be incorrigible, for you would drive away the few Frenchmen who remain with you. You must be dealt with, not by affectionate advice, but by threats and compulsion. What mean the prayers, and mysterious fasts you have ordered? Louis, you will not reign long. Your actions disclose better than your confidential letters, the sentiments of your mind. Return to the right course. Be a Frenchman in heart, or your people will banish you, and you will leave Holland an object of ridicule.\* States must be governed by reason and policy, and not by the weakness produced by acrid and vitiated humours.

NAPOLEON.

\* It was on the contrary, because Louis made himself a Dutchman, that his people *did not* banish him, and that he carried away with him the regret of all that portion of his subjects who could appreciate his excellent qualities, and possessed good sense enough to perceive that he was not to blame for the evils that weighed upon Holland.

A few days after this letter was despatched to Louis, Napoleon heard of an affray which had taken place at Amsterdam, and to which Count de la Rochefoucauld gave a sort of diplomatic importance, being aware that he could not better please his master than by affording him an excuse for being angry. It appeared that the honour of the count's coachman had been compromised by the insult of a citizen of Amsterdam, and a quarrel ensued, which, but for the interference of the guard of the palace, might have terminated seriously, since it assumed the character of a party affair between the French and Dutch. M. de la Rochefoucauld immediately despatched to the emperor, who was then at Lille, a report of his coachman's quarrel, in which he expressed himself with as much earnestness as the illustrious author of the "Maxims" evinced when he waged war against kings. The consequence was, that Napoleon instantly fulminated the following letter against his brother Louis :

BROTHER,

At the very moment when you were making the fairest protestations, I learn that the servants of my ambassador have been ill-treated at Amsterdam. I insist that those who were guilty of this outrage may be delivered up to me, in order that their punishment may serve as an example to others. The Sieur Serrieur has informed me how you conducted yourself at the diplomatic audience. I have, consequently, determined that the Dutch ambassador shall no longer remain in Paris ; and Admiral Verhuell has received orders to depart within twenty-four hours. I want no more phrases and protestations. It is time I should know whether you intend, by your follies, to ruin Holland. I do not choose that you should again send a minister to Austria, or that you should dismiss the French who are in your service. I have recalled my ambassador, as I intend only to have a chargé-d'affaires in Holland. The Sieur Serrurier, who remains there in that capacity, will communicate to you my intentions. My ambassador shall no longer be exposed to your insults. Write to me no more those set phrases which you have been repeating for the last three years, and the falsehood of which is proved every day.

This is the last letter I will ever write to you as long as I live.

NAPOLEON.

Thus reduced to the cruel alternative of crushing Holland with his own hands, or leaving that task to the emperor, Louis did not hesitate to lay down his sceptre. Having formed this resolution, he addressed a message to the legislative body of the kingdom of Holland, explaining the motives

of his abdication. What, indeed, could be more reasonable than that measure, when he found an armed force occupying his dominions, which had been united to the empire by what was formerly called a family alliance? But at that time no consideration could restrain the arbitrary will of Napoleon. The French troops entered Holland, under the command of the Duke de Reggio; and that marshal, who was more king than the king himself, threatened to occupy Amsterdam. Louis then descended from his throne, and four years after Napoleon was hurled from his.

In his act of abdication, Louis declared that he had been driven to that step by the unhappy state of his kingdom, which he attributed to his brother's unfavourable feelings towards him. He added, that he had made every effort and sacrifice to put an end to that painful state of things, and that, finally, he regarded himself as the cause of the continual misunderstanding between the French empire and Holland. It is curious that Louis thought he could abdicate the crown of Holland in favour of his son, as Napoleon wished, four years after, to abdicate his crown in favour of the King of Rome. How often do these similarities occur in the history of Napoleon! In the depth of his reverses, how often was he assailed with precisely the same blows which he had aimed at others in the height of his fortune!

Louis bade farewell to the people of Holland in a proclamation, after the publication of which he repaired to the waters at Tœplitz. There he was living in tranquil retirement, when he learned that his brother had united Holland to the empire. He then published a protest, of which I obtained a copy, though its circulation was strictly prohibited by the police. In this protest, Louis said—

The constitution of the state, guaranteed by the emperor, my brother, gave me the right of abdicating in favour of my children. That abdication was made in the form and terms prescribed by the constitution. The emperor had no right to declare war against Holland, and he has not done so,

There is no act, no assent, no demand of the Dutch nation that can authorize the pretended union.

My abdication does not leave the throne vacant. I have abdicated only in favour of my children.

As that abdication left Holland for twelve years under a regency, that is to say, under the direct influence of the emperor, according to the terms of the constitution, there was no need of that union for executing every measure he might have in view



against trade and against England, since his will was supreme in Holland.

But I ascended the throne without any other conditions except those imposed upon me by my conscience, my duty, and the interest and welfare of my subjects. I therefore declare, before God and the independent sovereigns to whom I address myself—

First. That the treaty of the 16th of March, 1810, which occasioned the separation of the provinces of Zealand and Brabant from Holland, was accepted by compulsion, and ratified, conditionally, by me in Paris, where I was detained against my will; and that, moreover, the treaty was never executed by the emperor, my brother. Instead of six thousand French troops, which I was to maintain, according to the terms of the treaty, that number has been more than doubled: instead of occupying only the mouths of the rivers and the coasts, the French custom-houses have encroached into the interior of the country; instead of the interference of France being confined to the measures connected with the blockade of England, Dutch magazines have been seized and Dutch subjects arbitrarily imprisoned; finally, none of the verbal promises have been kept which were made in the emperor's name, by the Duke de Cadore, to grant indemnities for the countries ceded by the said treaty, and to mitigate its execution, if the king would refer entirely to the emperor, &c. I declare, in my name, in the name of the nation, and my son, the treaty of the 16th of March, 1810, to be null and void.

Second. I declare, that my abdication was forced by the emperor, my brother, that it was made only as the last extremity, and on this one condition—that I should maintain the rights of Holland and my children. My abdication could only be made in their favour.

Third. In my name, in the name of the minor king, and the Dutch nation, I declare the pretended union of Holland to France, mentioned in the decree of the emperor, my brother, dated the 9th of July last, to be null, void, illegal, unjust, and arbitrary in the eyes of God and man; and that the nation and the minor king will assert their just rights, when circumstances permit them.

LOUIS.

August 1, 1810.

Thus there seemed to be an end of all intercourse between these two brothers, who were so opposite in character and disposition. But Napoleon, who was enraged that Louis should have presumed to protest, and that in energetic terms, against the union of his kingdom with the empire, ordered him

to return to France, whither he was summoned in his character of constable and French prince. Louis, however, did not think proper to obey this summons, and Napoleon, faithful to his promise of never writing to him again, ordered the following letter to be addressed to him by M. Otto, who had been ambassador from France to Vienna, since the yet recent marriage of the emperor with Maria Louisa.

SIRE,

The emperor directs me to write to your Majesty as follows :

“ It is the duty of every French prince, and every member of the imperial family, to reside in France, whence they cannot absent themselves without the permission of the emperor. Before the union of Holland to the empire, the emperor permitted the king to reside at Teplitz, in Bohemia. His health appeared to require the use of the waters; but now the emperor requires that Prince Louis shall return, at the latest by the 1st of December next, under pain of being considered as disobeying the constitution of the empire and the head of his family, and being treated accordingly.”

I fulfil, Sire, word for word, the mission with which I have been intrusted, and I send the chief secretary of the embassy, to be assured that this letter is rightly delivered. I beg your Majesty to accept the homage of my respect, &c.

OTTO.

What a letter was this to be addressed by a subject to a prince and a sovereign ! When I afterwards saw M. Otto in Paris, and conversed with him on the subject, he assured me how much he had been distressed at the necessity of writing such a letter to the brother of the emperor. He had employed the expressions dictated by Napoleon, in that irritation which he could never command when his will was opposed.\*

\* With regard to Louis and his conduct in Holland, Napoleon thus spoke at St. Helena :

“ Louis is not devoid of intelligence, and has a good heart ; but even with these qualifications a man may commit many errors, and do a great deal of mischief. Louis is naturally inclined to be capricious and fantastical, and the works of Jean Jacques Rousseau have contributed to increase this disposition. Seeking to obtain a reputation for sensibility and beneficence, incapable by himself of enlarged views, and, at most, competent to local details, Louis acted like a prefect rather than a king.

“ No sooner had he arrived in Holland, than fancying that nothing could be finer than to have it said that he was thenceforth a true Dutchman, he attached himself entirely to the party favourable to the English, promoted smuggling, and thus conspired with our enemies. It became

necessary from that moment to watch over him, and even to threaten to wage war against him. Louis then seeking a refuge against the weakness of his disposition in the most stubborn obstinacy, and mistaking a public scandal for an act of glory, fled from his throne, declaiming against me and against my insatiable ambition, my intolerable tyranny, &c. What then remained for me to do? Was I to abandon Holland to our enemies? Ought I to have given it another king? But in that case could I have expected more from him than from my own brother? Did not all the kings that I created act nearly in the same manner? I therefore united Holland to the empire; and this act produced a most unfavourable impression in Europe, and contributed not a little to lay the foundation of our misfortunes."—*Memorial de Sainte Hélène*, vol. ii. part VI. p. 217. (E. Ed.)

## CHAPTER XVII.

Demands for contingents from some of the small states of Germany—M. Metternich—Position of Russia with respect to France—Union of Austria and Russia—Return of the English to Spain—Soult King of Portugal, and Murat successor to the emperor—First levy of the Landwehre in Austria—Agents of the Hamburg Correspondent—Letter from Napoleon to the Emperor of Austria—Declaration of Prince Charles—Napoleon's march to Germany—His proclamation—Bernadotte's departure for the army—Napoleon's dislike of Bernadotte—Prince Charles's plan of campaign—The English at Cuxhaven—Fruitlessness of the plots of England—Napoleon wounded—Napoleon's prediction realized—Major Schill—Hamburg threatened and saved—Schill in Lubeck—His death, and destruction of his band—Schill imitated by the Duke of Brunswick-Cels—Departure of the English from Cuxhaven.

BONAPARTE, the bases of whose empire were his sword and his victories, and who was anxiously looking forward to the time when the sovereigns of continental Europe should be his *juniors*, applied for contingents of troops from the states to which I was accredited. The Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, was to furnish a regiment of eighteen hundred men, and the other little states, such as Oldenburg and Mecklenburg-Strelitz, were to furnish regiments of less amount. All Europe was required to rise in arms to second the gigantic projects of the new sovereign. This demand for contingents, and the positive way in which the emperor insisted upon them, gave rise to an immense correspondence, which, however, was unattended by any result. The notes and orders remained in the portfolios, and the contingents stayed at home.

M. Metternich, whose talent has since been so conspicuously displayed, had been for upwards of a year ambassador from Austria to Paris. Even then he excelled in the art of insinuation, and of turning to the advantage of his policy his external graces, and the favour he acquired in the drawing-room. His father, a clever man, brought up in the old

diplomatic school of Thugut and Kaunitz, had early accustomed him to the task of making other governments believe, by means of agents, what might lead them into error to the advantage of his government. His manœuvres tended to make Austria assume a discontented and haughty tone; and wishing, as she said, to secure her independence, she publicly declared her intention of protecting herself against any enterprise similar to those of which she had often been the victim. This language, encouraged by the complete evacuation of Germany, and the war in Spain, the unfortunate issue of which was generally foreseen, was used in time of peace, and when France was not threatening war.

M. de Metternich, who had instructions from his court, gave no satisfactory explanation of those circumstances to the emperor, who instantly raised a conscription, and brought his army from Spain into Germany.

It was necessary, also, to come to an understanding with Russia, who, being engaged with her wars in Finland and Turkey, appeared to have no desire to enter into alliance with Austria, nor to afford her support. What, in fact, was the Emperor Alexander's situation with respect to France? He had signed, at Tilsit, a treaty of peace, which appeared to have been forced upon him; and he knew that time alone would render it possible for him to take part in a contest which, it was evident, would again be renewed, either with Russia or Austria.

Every person of common sense must have perceived that Austria, in taking up arms, reckoned, if not on the assistance, at least on the neutrality of Russia. Russia was then engaged with two enemies, the Swedes and the Turks, over whom she hoped to triumph. She, therefore, rejoiced to see France again engage in a struggle with Austria, and there was no doubt that she would take advantage of any chances favourable to the latter power, to join her in opposing the encroachments of France. I never could conceive how, under those circumstances, Napoleon could be so blind as to expect assistance from Russia in his quarrel with Austria. He must, indeed, have been greatly deceived as to the footing on which the two courts stood with reference to each other—their friendly footing, and their mutual agreement to oppose the overgrowing ambition of their common enemy.

The English, who had been compelled to quit Spain, now returned there. They landed in Portugal, which might be regarded as their own colony, and marched against Marshal

Soult, who left Spain to meet them. Any other than Soult would, perhaps, have been embarrassed by the obstacles which he had to surmount. A great deal has been said about his wish to make himself king of Portugal. Bernadotte told me, when he passed through Hamburg, that the matter had been the subject of much conversation at head-quarters, after the battle of Wagram. Bernadotte placed no faith in the report, and I am pretty sure that Napoleon also disbelieved it. However, this matter is still involved in the obscurity from which it will only be drawn, when some person, acquainted with the intrigue, shall give a full explanation of it.\*

Since I have, with reference to Soult, touched upon the subject of supposed ambition, I will mention here what I know of Murat's expectation of succeeding the emperor. When Romanzow returned from his useless mission of mediation to London, the emperor proceeded to Bayonne. Bernadotte, who had an agent in Paris whom he paid highly, told me one day that he had received a despatch, informing him that Murat entertained the idea of one day succeeding the emperor. Sycophants, expecting to derive advantage from it, encouraged Murat in this chimerical hope. I know not whether Napoleon was acquainted with this circumstance, nor what he said of it;

\* "Certain rumours reached Schonbrunn, which led to the belief that some extraordinary circumstances had taken place in Portugal, of which it was imagined that Marshal Soult aimed at the sovereignty: many versions of such a story have undoubtedly been reported. A few appeared to merit attention, because the emperor's cause was generally supposed to be desperate after the battle of Easing, and because the Grand Duke of Berg having become King of Naples, as a reward for glorious feats of arms, it might be supposed that the officers of the same rank were of a no less ambitious character. The emperor treated the whole matter as mere folly; the rumour appeared to him quite absurd, and he laughed heartily at it. Nevertheless, he wrote to Marshal Soult, *that he only retained a recollection of Austerlitz*, because his name had been too often mentioned in the emperor's hearing for the marshal to suppose that his sovereign had been wholly ignorant of the rumours; and he would therefore have felt uneasy at the emperor's silence.

"The emperor never harboured a feeling of resentment against any one on the occasion to which I allude; though he certainly had the reports inquired into, the origin of which was never accurately known; he alone could have grounds for his opinion; but I never heard him advert to the subject. I have ever since had an impression upon my mind that he really bestowed more attention to those rumours than we had at first imagined, and that they were mainly instrumental in making him determine to bring the war to a close with the least possible delay.

"The inquiries into this business were followed by proceedings against an officer of dragoons, who was convicted of having frequently repaired to the English army in a clandestine manner. He alleged in his defence that he had been sent there; but as he could not exhibit any proof of the allegation, he was treated as a deserter, and underwent the punishment decreed against persons guilty of that crime."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Berwick*, vol. ii. p. 107. (E. Ed.)

but Bernadotte spoke of it to me as a certain fact. It would, however, have been very wrong to attach great importance to an expression which, perhaps, escaped Murat in a moment of ardour, for his natural temperament sometimes betrayed him into acts of imprudence, the result of which, with a man like Napoleon, was always to be dreaded.

It was in the midst of the operations of the Spanish war, which Napoleon directed in person, that he learned Austria had, for the first time, raised the landwehre. I obtained some very curious documents respecting the armaments of Austria, from the editor of the Hamburg Correspondent. This paper, the circulation of which amounted to not less than sixty thousand, paid considerable sums to persons in different parts of Europe, who were able and willing to furnish the current news. The Correspondent paid sixty thousand francs a year to a clerk in the war department at Vienna, and it was this clerk who supplied the intelligence that Austria was preparing for war, and that orders had been issued, in all directions, to collect and put in motion, all the resources of that powerful monarchy. I communicated these particulars to the French government, and suggested the necessity of increased vigilance and measures of defence. Preceding aggressions, especially that of 1805, were not to be forgotten. Similar information probably reached the French government from many quarters. Be that as it may, the emperor consigned the military operations in Spain to his generals, and departed for Paris, where he arrived at the end of January, 1809. He had been in Spain only since the beginning of November, and his presence there had again rendered our banners victorious. But though the insurgent troops were beaten, the inhabitants showed themselves more and more unfavourable to Joseph's cause; and it did not appear very probable, that he could ever seat himself tranquilly on the throne of Madrid.

Before I relate what I know respecting the German campaign, which was about to commence, I must refer back to one of the most important events preceding it. When I spoke of the interview at Erfurt, I quoted a rather ambiguous letter, transmitted from the Emperor Francis to Napoleon, by Baron Vincent. The answer to this letter seemed to be dictated by a sort of foresight of the events of 1809. It was in the following terms :

SIRE, MY BROTHER,  
I thank your Royal and Imperial Majesty for the letter you have  
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been so good as to write me, and which Baron Vincent delivered. I never doubted the upright intentions of your Majesty, but I nevertheless feared for a moment that hostilities would be renewed between us. There is, at Vienna, a faction which affects alarm in order to drive your cabinet to violent measures, which would entail misfortunes greater than those that are past. I had it in my power to dismember your Majesty's monarchy, or at least to diminish his power. I did not do so. It exists, as it is by my consent. This is a plain proof that our accounts are settled; that I have no desire to injure you. I am always ready to guarantee the integrity of your monarchy: I will never do any thing adverse to the important interests of states. But your Majesty ought not to bring again under discussion what has been settled by a fifteen years' war. You ought to avoid every proclamation or act calculated to excite dissension. The last levy, in mass, might have provoked war if I had apprehended that the levy and preparations were made in conjunction with Russia. I have just disbanded the camp of the Confederation. I have sent a hundred thousand men to Boulogne to renew my projects against England. I had reason to believe when I had the happiness of seeing your Majesty, and had concluded the treaty of Presburg, that our disputes were terminated for ever, and that I might undertake the maritime war without interruption. I beseech your Majesty to distrust those who, by speaking of the dangers of the monarchy, disturb your happiness, and that of your family and people. Those persons alone are dangerous: they create the dangers they pretend to fear. By a straightforward, plain, and ingenuous line of conduct, your Majesty will render your people happy, will secure to yourself that tranquillity of which you must stand in need after so many troubles, and will be sure of finding me determined to do nothing hostile to your important interests. Let your conduct bespeak confidence, and you will inspire it. The best policy at the present time is, simplicity and truth. Confide your troubles to me when you have any, and I will instantly banish them. Allow me to make one observation more—listen to your own judgment—your own feelings—they are much more correct than those of your advisers. I beseech your Majesty to read my letter in the spirit in which it is written, and to see nothing in it inconsistent with the welfare and tranquillity of Europe and your Majesty.

As soon as I read Napoleon's letter, I had no doubt that a new war would soon ensue between France and Austria. The love of superiority assumed by Napoleon, as if he had been writing to one of the princes subject to his Confederation of the Rhine, was, indeed, of a nature to irritate the wounded pride of the heir of the Cæsars. The cabinet of Vienna was



also attacked in a manner calculated to irritate all its members against Napoleon; and then illusion, that last resource of misfortune, appeared in a seducing form to the eyes of Austria. Because she had been conquered once, it did not follow that she should be conquered again. She might recover what she had lost; and the war which Napoleon was obliged to maintain, at a great expenditure of men and money, in the Spanish Peninsula, gave her chances of success which she had not possessed on the former occasion, when England alone was at war with France, and when, above all, England had not, as she had at that moment, a part of Europe where she could employ her land-forces against the power of Napoleon.

Francis, notwithstanding the instigations of his counsellors, hesitated about taking the first step; but at length, yielding to the open solicitations of England, and the secret insinuations of Russia, and, above all, seduced by the subsidies of Great Britain, he declared hostilities, not at first against France, but against her allies of the Confederation of the Rhine. On the 9th of April, Prince Charles, who was appointed commander-in-chief of the Austrian troops, addressed a note to the commander-in-chief of the French army in Bavaria. It was in the following terms:

In conformity with a declaration made by his Majesty the Emperor of Austria to the Emperor Napoleon, I hereby apprize the general-in-chief of the French army that I have orders to advance with my troops and to treat as enemies all who oppose me.

A courier carried a copy of this declaration to Strasburg with the utmost expedition, from whence it was transmitted by telegraph to Paris. The emperor surprised but not disconcerted by this intelligence, received it at St. Cloud on the 11th of April, and two hours after he was on the road to Germany. The complexity of affairs in which he was then involved seemed to give a new impulse to his activity. When he reached the army, neither his troops nor his guard had been able to come up; and under those circumstances, he placed himself at the head of the Bavarian troops, and, as it were, adopted the soldiers of Maximilian. Six days after his departure from Paris, the army of Prince Charles, which had passed the Inn, was threatened. The emperor's head-quarters were at Donawerth; and from thence he addressed to his soldiers one of those energetic and concise proclamations which made them perform so many prodigies, and which was soon circulated in

every language by the public journals. This complication of events could not but be fatal to Europe and France, whatever might be its result; but it presented an opportunity favourable to the development of the emperor's genius. Like his favourite poet Ossian, who liked best to touch his lyre midst the howlings of the tempest, Napoleon required political tempests for the display of his abilities.

During the campaign of 1809, and particularly at its commencement, Napoleon's course was even more rapid than it had been in the campaign of 1805. Every courier who arrived at Hamburg brought us news, or rather prodigies. As soon as the emperor was informed of the attack made by the Austrians upon Bavaria, orders were despatched to all the generals having troops under their command, to proceed with all speed to the theatre of the war. The Prince de Ponte-Corvo was summoned to join the grand army with the Saxon troops under his command, and for the time he resigned the government of the Hanse Towns. Colonel Damas succeeded him at Hamburg during that period, but merely as commandant of the fortress, and he never gave rise to any murmur or complaint. Bernadotte was not satisfied with his situation, and indeed the emperor, who was never much disposed to bring him forward, because he could not forgive him for his opposition on the 18th Brumaire, always appointed him to posts in which but little glory was to be acquired, and placed as few troops as possible under his command.

I shall not enter into any longer details respecting the second campaign of Vienna, than I did respecting the first, and the campaign of Tilsit. I will confine myself, as before, to repeating from recollection, the information which I obtained at Hamburg, where my functions always became more delicate whenever any new event occurred in Germany. I can declare, that in 1809, it required all the promptitude of the emperor's march upon Vienna to defeat the plots which were brewing against his government; for in the event of his arms being unsuccessful, the blow was ready to be struck. The English force in the north of Germany amounted to about ten thousand men. The Archduke Charles had formed the project of concentrating in the middle of Germany a large body of troops, consisting of the corps of Generals Am Eude, of General Radizwowitz, and of the English, with whom were to be joined the people who were expected to revolt. The English would have wished the Austrian troops to advance a little further. The English agent made some representations on

this subject to M. Stadion, the Austrian minister; but the archduke preferred making a diversion to compromising the safety of the monarchy, by departing from its accustomed inactivity, and risking the passage of the Danube, in the face of an enemy who never suffered himself to be surprised, and who had calculated every possible event. In concerting his plan, the archduke expected that the Emperor of Austria would either detach a numerous army corps to assist his allies, or that he would abandon them to their own defence. In the first case, the archduke would have had a great superiority, and in the second, all was prepared in Hesse and in Hanover, to rise on the approach of the Austrian and English armies.

At the commencement of July, the English advanced upon Cuxhaven, with a dozen small ships of war. They landed four or five hundred sailors, and about fifty marines, and planted a standard on one of the outworks. The day after this landing at Cuxhaven, the English, who were in Denmark, evacuated Copenhagen, after destroying a battery which they had erected there. On quitting Cuxhaven, they arrested M. Desarts, who was an agent of the consulate of Hamburg. All the plots of England were fruitless on the continent; for with the emperor's new system of war, which consisted in making a push on the capitals, he soon obtained negotiations for peace. He was master of Vienna before England had even organized the expedition to which I have just alluded. He left Paris on the 11th of April, was at Donawerth on the 17th, and on the 23d he was master of Ratisbon. In the engagement, which preceded his entrance into that town, Napoleon received a slight wound in the heel. He, nevertheless, remained on the field of battle. It was also between Donawerth and Ratisbon, that Davoust, by a bold manœuvre, gained and merited the title of Prince of Eckmühl.

At this period, fortune was not only bent on favouring Napoleon's arms, but she seemed to take pleasure in realizing even his boasting predictions; for the French troops entered Vienna within a month after a proclamation issued by Napoleon at Ratisbon, in which he said he would be master of the Austrian capital in that time.\*

\* The reader is referred to the conclusion of the present chapter for a brief description of the battle of Essling, or Esslingen, which preceded Napoleon's second occupation of Vienna, and at which Marshal Lannes received the wound of which he shortly afterwards died. Savary's account of the death of Lannes is also subjoined.—E. Ed.

But while he was thus marching from triumph to triumph, the people of Hamburg and the neighbouring countries, had a neighbour who did not leave them altogether without inquietude. The famous Prussian partisan, Major Schill, after pursuing his system of plunder in Westphalia, came and threw himself upon Mecklenburg, whence, I understood, it was his intention to surprise Hamburg. At the head of six hundred well-mounted hussars, and between fifteen hundred and two thousand infantry badly armed, he took possession of the little fort of Domitz, in Mecklenburg, on the 15th of May, from whence he despatched parties, who levied contributions on both banks of the Elbe. Schill inspired terror wherever he went. On the 19th of May, a detachment of thirty men belonging to Schill's corps entered Wismar. It was commanded by Count Moleke, who had formerly been in the Prussian service, and who had retired to his estate in Mecklenburg, where the duke had kindly given him an appointment. Forgetting his duty to his benefactor, he sent to summon the duke to surrender Stralsund. Alarmed at the progress of the partisan Schill, the Duke of Mecklenburg and his court quit Ludwigsburg, their regular residence, and retired to Dobera on the sea-coast. On quitting Mecklenburg, Schill advanced to Bergdorf, four leagues from Hamburg. The alarm the increased in that city. A few of the inhabitants talked of making a compromise with Schill, and sending him money to get him away. But the firmness of the majority imposed silence on this timid council. I consulted with the commandant of the town, and we determined to adopt measures of precaution. The custom-house chest, in which there was more than a million of gold, was sent to Holstein under a strong escort. At the same time I sent to Schill a clever spy, who gave him a most alarming account of the means of defence which Hamburg possessed. Schill accordingly renounced his designs on that city, and leaving it on his left, entered Lubeck, which was undefended.

Meanwhile, Lieutenant-General Gratien, who had left Berlin by order of the Prince de Neufchatel, with two thousand five hundred Dutch, and three thousand Swedish troops, actively pursued Schill, and tranquillity was soon restored throughout all the neighbouring country, which had been greatly agitated by his bold enterprise. Schill, after wandering for some days on the shores of the Baltic, was overtaken by General Gratien, at Stralsund, whence he was about to embark

for Sweden. He made a desperate defence, and was killed, after a conflict of two hours. His band was destroyed. Three hundred of his hussars, and two hundred infantry, who had effected their escape, asked leave to return to Prussia, and they were conducted to the Prussian general commanding a neighbouring town. A war of plunder, like that carried on by Schill, could not be honourably acknowledged by a power having any claim to respect. Yet, the English government sent to Schill a colonel's commission, and the full uniform of his new rank, with the assurance that all his troops should, thenceforth, be paid by England.

Schill soon had an imitator of exalted rank; in 1809, the Duke of Brunswick-Els sought the dangerous honour of succeeding that famous partisan. At the head of two thousand men at most, he for some days disturbed the left bank of the Elbe, and on the 5th entered Bremen. On his approach, the French vice-consul retired to Osterhulz. One of the duke's officers presented himself at the house of the vice-consul, and demanded two hundred louis. The agent of the vice-consul, alarmed at the threat of the place being given up to pillage, capitulated with the officer, and with considerable difficulty got rid of him at the sacrifice of eighty louis, for which a receipt was presented to him in the name of the duke. The duke, who now went by the name of the new Schill, did not remain long in Bremen. Wishing to repair with all possible speed to Holland, he left Bremen on the evening of the 6th, and proceeded to Delmenhorst, where his advanced guard had already arrived. The Westphalian troops, commanded by Reubell, entered Bremen on the 7th, and not finding the Duke of Brunswick, immediately marched in pursuit of him. The Danish troops, who occupied Cuxhaven, received orders to proceed to Bremerlehe, to favour the operations of the Westphalians and the Dutch. Meanwhile, the English approached Cuxhaven, where they landed three or four thousand men. The persons in charge of the custom-house establishment, and the few sailors who were in Cuxhaven, fell back upon Hamburg. The Duke of Brunswick, still pursued, crossed Germany from the frontiers of Bohemia to Elsflëth, a little port on the left bank of the Weser, where he arrived on the 7th, being one day in advance of his pursuers. He immediately took possession of all the transports at Elsflëth, and embarked for Heligoland.

The landing, which the English effected at Cuxhaven, while the Danes, who garrisoned that port, were occupied in

pursuing the Duke of Brunswick, was attended by no result. After the escape of the duke, the Danes returned to their post, which the English immediately evacuated.

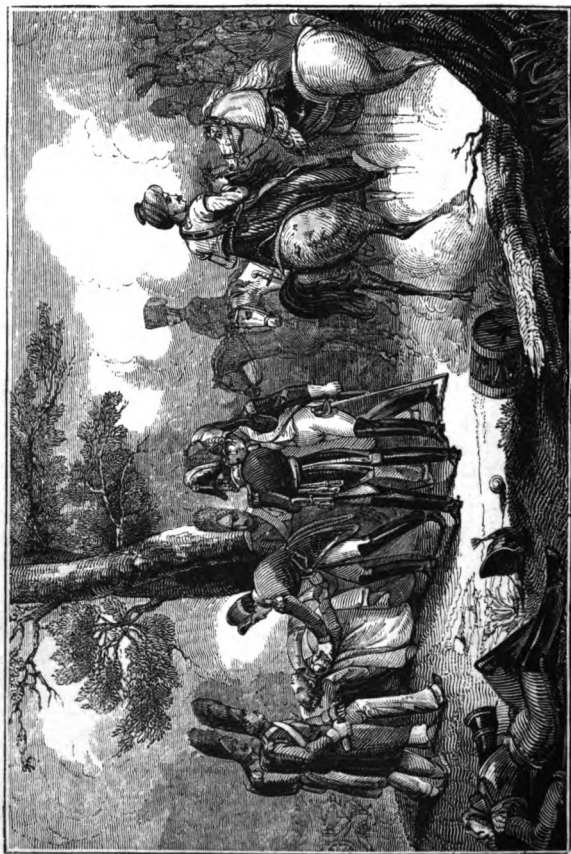
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### THE BATTLE OF ESSLINGEN.

“ Prince Berthier sent me orders to rejoin the army. The emperor was already with it ; I found him at Landshut, just after he had gained the battle of Ratisbon.

“ We marched on Vienna. The emperor became more good-humoured, and treated me more kindly. The battle of Esslingen took place. Thousands of brave men lost their lives ; Marshal Lannes received his mortal wound ; the cavalry and artillery were destroyed ; and the village of Esslingen, the most important point that remained for us to defend, was inundated by twenty battalions of Hungarian grenadiers. We could no longer maintain our station : the enemy had already penetrated into the square-work which Napoleon had directed to be fortified the day before. Count Lobau advanced to meet them, and checked their progress ; but they immediately received reinforcements. The emperor perceived this, and I was directed to take two battalions of the young guard, and to hasten to the assistance of our troops : I was to disengage them, to effect a retreat with them, and to take a position between the village and the remainder of the guard, on the banks of the Danube, near the bridge which had been broken. The Austrian columns advanced from all quarters on this point ; our position became most hazardous. On our left, Masséna still occupied Gros Aspern ; he had lost great numbers of his force, but he still maintained his ground. I placed myself at the head of my two battalions and entered the village. I drew up my troops in the rear of General Mouton, and went to deliver to him the emperor's orders ; but the whole of the enemy's reserve, under the command of the Archduke Charles, deployed at some distance. ‘ You have,’ said I to Count Lobau, ‘ astonished those masses by your resistance ; let us charge them with the bayonet, and drive them back upon the columns that are advancing : if we succeed, the emperor and the army will give us credit for our success ; if we fail, the responsibility will rest with me.’—‘ With both of us,’ replied the general. Our five battalions moved forward, charged, repulsed, and dispersed the enemy at the point of the bayonet. We were masters of the village. The archduke endeavoured in vain to recover it ; five times he led his troops to the charge, and five times he was defeated. He experienced





**THE DEATH OF MARSHAL LANNES.**

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immense loss : ours was also considerable. Generals Mouton and Grosse were wounded ; several other officers were killed. Napoleon was delighted with this affair ; he complimented me very highly, and added, 'If ever you did well in not executing my orders, you have done so to-day ; for the safety of the army depended on the taking of Esslingen.'”—*Rapp's Memoirs*, p. 126.

### DEATH OF MARSHAL LANNES.

“ Marshal Lannes having returned to the position he had quitted in the morning for the purpose of attacking the enemy, used his utmost endeavours to preserve it, and dismounted, owing to the proximity of the fire of the enemy's artillery, which made it hazardous to remain on horseback ; the cavalry had crossed over long before, and was stationed in the island of Lobau. The emperor himself had quitted the field of battle, after issuing his final orders in respect to recrossing the bridge ; and he was engaged in pointing some artillery in the island of Lobau, for the purpose of protecting the retreat of our columns, when intelligence was brought to him that Marshal Lannes had just had his legs carried off by a cannon-shot. He was affected to tears at the news ; and at the moment he was listening to the particulars of that sad event, he perceived a litter coming from the field of battle with Marshal Lannes stretched upon it. He ordered him to be carried to a retired spot, where they might be alone and uninterrupted. With his face bathed in tears, he approached and embraced his dying friend. Exhausted by the great loss of blood, Marshal Lannes said to him in broken accents, 'Farewell, Sire ; spare a life dear to all ; and bestow a passing thought upon the memory of one of your best friends, who in two hours will be no more !' This deeply affecting scene created in the emperor a powerful emotion. General Saint-Hilaire had a short time before been brought back wounded in the foot by a cannon-ball ; he died of the wound a fortnight afterwards. The loss of Marshal Lannes was felt by the whole army, and completed the disasters of that fatal day.” \* \* \* \* \*

“ During the emperor's stay at Ebersdorf he went every day at noon to visit Marshal Lannes, who could not be removed to a greater distance than one of the houses of the village. Having received one day a message that the marshal was desirous to see him, he hastened to the spot. A delirious fever had come upon that unfortunate general, whose spirits, however, revived when he beheld the emperor. He had dreamed that an attempt was made upon his life, and said to him, that being unable to walk, he had sent to request he would come to defend him. The emperor was deeply afflicted at seeing the marshal in this state. The medical men requested him to withdraw, because the patient's

case was desperate; and he returned home in great distress of mind. Two hours afterwards, he was again told that Marshal Lannes wished to bid him farewell; he immediately went to see him; but on his arrival, M. Yvan, the doctor in attendance, came up to inform him that the patient had expired a few minutes before. In Marshal Lannes we lost one of the most gallant men our armies could at any time boast of. His life was too short for his friends; but his career of honour and glory was without a parallel."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo*, vol. ii. part I. p. 86. E. Ed.

## CHAPTER XVII.

The castle of Diernstein—Richard Cœur de Lion and Marshal Lannes—The emperor at the gates of Vienna—The Archduchess Maria Louisa—Proclamations and bulletins—Facility of correspondence with England—Smuggling in Hamburg—Brown sugar and sand—Hearses filled with sugar and coffee—Embargo on the publication of news—Supervision of the Hamburg Correspondent—Festival of St. Napoleon—Ecclesiastical adulation—The King of Westphalia's journey through his states—Attempt to raise a loan—Jerome's present to me—The present returned—Bonaparte's unfounded suspicions.

RAPP, who, during the campaign of Vienna had resumed his duties as aide-de-camp, related to me one of those observations of Napoleon, which, when his words are compared with the events that followed them, seem to indicate a foresight into his future destiny. When within some days' march of Vienna, the emperor procured a guide to explain to him every village and ruin which he observed on the road. The guide pointed to an eminence on which were a few decayed vestiges of an old fortified castle:—"Those," said the guide, "are the ruins of the castle of Diernstein." Napoleon suddenly stopped, and stood for some time silently contemplating the ruins, then turning to Lannes, who was with him, he said, "See! yonder is the prison of Richard Cœur de Lion. He, like us, went to Syria and Palestine. But, my brave Lannes, the Cœur de Lion was not braver than you. He was more fortunate than I at Saint-Jean d'Acre. A duke of Austria sold him to an emperor of Germany, who imprisoned him in that castle. Those were the days of barbarism. How different from the civilization of modern times! Europe has seen how I treated the Emperor of Austria, whom I might have made prisoner—and I would treat him so again. I claim no credit for this. In the present age crowned heads must be respected. A conqueror imprisoned!"

A few days after, the emperor was at the gates of Vienna ; but on this occasion his access to the Austrian capital was not so easy as it had been rendered in 1805, by the ingenuity and courage of Lannes. The Archduke Maximilian, who was shut up in the capital, wished to defend it, although the French army already occupied the principal suburbs. In vain were flags of truce sent one after the other to the archduke. They were not only dismissed unheard, but were even ill-treated, and one of them was almost killed by the populace. The city was then bombarded, and would speedily have been destroyed, but that the emperor being informed that one of the archduchesses remained in Vienna on account of ill-health, ordered the firing to cease. By a singular caprice of Napoleon's destiny, this archduchess was no other than Maria Louisa ! Vienna at length opened her gates to Napoleon, who, for some days took up his residence at Schœnbrunn. He immediately addressed a proclamation to his troops, in which he said—

One month after the enemy passed the Inn, on the same day and at the same hour, we have entered Vienna. Her landwehres, her levies in mass, her ramparts created by the impotent fury of the princes of the house of Lorrain, have scarcely claimed your attention. The princes of that house have abandoned their capital, not like soldiers of honour yielding to the circumstances of war, but like perjurers, pursued by their own remorse. In flying from Vienna they bade farewell to the inhabitants by murder and conflagration. Like Medea, they have, with their own hands, slain their children.

Who would have believed that, after the manner in which Napoleon alluded to the Emperor of Austria in this proclamation, that he would have closed the campaign with a proposal to marry his daughter ? If it be said that I notice Napoleon's proclamations rather than his bulletins, the reason is this—his proclamations were founded in truth, with the exception of the prophecies, which were not always realized, like that of his entrance into Vienna. Their groundwork was the great historical events which had taken place before the eyes of the army to whom they were addressed ; while his bulletins, which were destined to impose on the people of the interior of France and foreign countries, too fully justified the proverb—"To lie like a bulletin."

The emperor was engaged in so many projects at once, that they could not all succeed. Thus, while he was triumphant

in the hereditary states, his beloved continental system was experiencing severe checks. The trade with England on the coast of Oldenburg was carried on as uninterruptedly as if in time of peace. English letters and newspapers arrived on the continent, and those of the continent found their way into Great Britain, as if France and England had been united by ties of the firmest friendship. In short, things were just in the same state as if the decree for the blockade of the British isles had not existed. When the custom-house officers succeeded in seizing contraband goods, they were again taken from them by main force. On the 2d of July, a serious contest took place at Brinskham between the custom-house officers and a party of peasantry, in which the latter made themselves masters of eighteen waggons laden with English goods; many were wounded on both sides.

If, however, trade with England was carried on freely along a vast extent of coast, it was different in the city of Hamburg, where English goods were introduced only by fraud; and I verily believe that the art of smuggling, and the schemes of smugglers, were never before carried to such perfection. Above six thousand smugglers went backwards and forwards about twenty times a day, from Altona to Hamburg, and they carried on their contraband trade by many ingenious stratagems, two of which were so curious that they are worth mentioning here.

On the left of the road leading from Hamburg to Altona, there was a piece of ground where pits were dug, for the purpose of procuring sand, used for building and for laying down in the streets. At this time it was proposed to repair the great street of Hamburg, leading to the gate of Altona. The smugglers overnight filled the sand-pit with brown sugar, and the little carts which usually conveyed the sand into Hamburg were filled with the sugar, care being taken to cover it with a layer of sand, about an inch thick. This trick was carried on for a length of time, but no progress was made in repairing the street; I complained greatly of the delay, even before I was aware of its cause: for the street led to a country-house I had near Altona, whither I went daily. The officers of the customs at length perceived that the work did not proceed, and one fine morning the sugar-carts were stopped and seized. Another expedient was then to be devised.

Between Hamburg and Altona there is a little suburb situated on the right bank of the Elbe. This suburb is inhabited by sailors, labourers of the port, and landowners. The

inhabitants are interred in the cemetery of Hamburg. It was observed that funeral processions passed this way more frequently than usual. The custom-house officers amazed at the sudden mortality of the worthy inhabitants of the little suburb, insisted on searching one of the vehicles ; and on opening the hearse, it was found to be filled with sugar, coffee, vanilla, indigo, &c. It was necessary to abandon this expedient, but others were soon discovered.

Bonaparte was sensitive, in an extraordinary degree, to all that was said and thought of him, and Heaven knows how many despatches I received from head-quarters during the campaign of Vienna, directing me not only to watch the vigilant execution of the custom-house laws, but to lay an embargo on a thing which alarmed him more than the introduction of British merchandise, viz., the publication of news. In conformity with these reiterated instructions, I directed especial attention to the management of the Correspondent. The importance of this journal, with its sixty thousand readers, may easily be perceived. I procured the insertion of every thing I thought desirable : all the bulletins, proclamations, acts of the French government, notes of the *Moniteur*, and the semi-official articles of the French journals ; these were all given *in extenso*. On the other hand, I often suppressed adverse news, which, though well known, would have received additional weight from its insertion in so widely circulated a paper. If by chance there crept in some Austrian bulletin, extracted from the other German papers, published in the states of the Confederation of the Rhine, there was always given with it a suitable antidote, to destroy, or at least to mitigate, its ill effect. But this was not all. The King of Wirtemberg having reproached the Correspondent in a letter to the minister for foreign affairs, with publishing whatever Austria wished should be made known, and being conducted in a spirit hostile to the *good cause*, I answered these unjust reproaches, by making the syndic censor prohibit the Hamburg papers from inserting *any* Austrian order of the day, *any* archduke's bulletin, *any* letter from Prague ; in short, any thing which should be copied from the other German journals, unless those articles had been inserted in the French journals.

My recollections of the year 1809 at Hamburg, carry me back to the celebration of Napoleon's fête, which was on the 15th of August ; for he had interpolated his patron saint in the imperial calendar, at the date of his birth. The coincidence of this festival with the Assumption, gave rise to adula-

tory rodомontades, of the most absurd description. Certainly the episcopal mandaments of the empire would form a curious collection.\* Could any thing be more revolting than the sycophancy of those churchmen who declared that "God chose Napoleon for his representative upon earth, and that God created Bonaparte, and then rested; that he was more fortunate than Augustus, more virtuous than Trajan; that he deserved altars and temples to be raised to him! &c. &c."

Sometime after the festival of St. Napoleon, the King of Westphalia made a journey through his states. Of all Napoleon's brothers, the King of Westphalia was the one with whom I was least acquainted, and he, it is pretty well known, was the most worthless of the family. His correspondence with me is limited to two letters, one of which he wrote while he commanded the Epervier, and another seven years after, dated 6th September, 1809. In this latter he said, "I shall be in Hanover on the 10th. If you can make it convenient to come there and spend a day with me, it will give me great pleasure. I shall then be able to smooth all obstacles to the loan I wish to contract in the Hanse Towns. I flatter myself you will do all in your power to forward that object, which, at the present crisis, is very important to my states. *More than ample security* is offered, but the money will be of no use to me if I cannot have it at *least for two years*." Jérôme wanted to contract at Hamburg, a loan of three millions of francs. However, the people did not seem to think like his Westphalian majesty, that the contract presented *more than ample security*. No one was found willing to draw his purse strings, and the loan was never raised.

Though I would not, without the emperor's authority, exert the influence of my situation to further the success of Jérôme's negotiation, yet I did my best to assist him. I succeeded in prevailing on the senate to advance one loan of a hundred thousand francs, to pay a portion of the arrears due to his troops, and a second of two hundred thousand francs, to provide clothing for his army, &c. This scanty supply will

\* It will perhaps scarcely be believed that the following words were actually delivered from the pulpit: "God in his mercy has chosen Napoleon to be his representative on earth. The Queen of Heaven has marked, by the most magnificent of presents, the anniversary of the day which witnessed her glorious entrance into her domains. Heavenly Virgin! as a special testimony of your love for the French, and your all-powerful influence with your son, you have connected the first of your solemnities with the birth of the great Napoleon. Heaven ordained that the hero should spring from your sepulchre."

cease to be wondered at, when it is considered to what a state of desolation the whole of Germany was reduced at the time.

As for Jérôme, he returned to Cassel quite disheartened at the unsuccessful issue of his loan. Some days after his return to his capital, I received from him a snuff-box, with his portrait set in diamonds, accompanied by a letter of thanks for the service I had rendered him. I never imagined that a token of remembrance from a crowned head could possibly be declined. Napoleon, however, thought otherwise. I had not, it is true, written to acquaint our government with the King of Westphalia's loan, but in a letter, which I addressed to the minister for foreign affairs on the 22d of September, I mentioned the present Jérôme had sent me. Why Napoleon should have been offended at this I know not, but I received orders to return Jérôme's present immediately, and these orders were accompanied with bitter reproaches for having accepted it without the emperor's authority. Knowing Bonaparte's distrustful disposition, I thought he must have suspected that Jérôme had employed threats, or at any rate, that he had used some illegal influence to facilitate the success of his loan. At last, after much correspondence, Napoleon saw clearly that every thing was perfectly regular; in a word, that the business had been transacted as between two private persons. As to the three hundred thousand francs, which the senate had lent to Jérôme, the fact is, that but little scruple was made about it, for this simple reason, because it was the means of removing from Hamburg the Westphalian division, whose presence occasioned a much greater sacrifice than the loan.



## CHAPTER XIX.

Visit to the field of Wagram—Union of the Papal states with the empire—The battle of Talaveira—Sir Arthur Wellesley—English expedition to Holland—Attempt to assassinate the emperor at Schoenbrunn—Staps interrogated by Napoleon—Pardon offered and rejected—Fanaticism and patriotism—Corvisart's examination of Staps—Second interrogatory—Tirade against the illuminati—Accusation of the courts of Berlin and Weimar—Firmness and resignation of Staps—Particulars respecting his death—Influence of the attempt of Staps on the conclusion of peace—M. de Champagny.

NAPOLEON went to inspect all the army corps, and the field of Wagram, which, a short time before, had been the scene of one of those great battles, in which victory was the more glorious in proportion as it had been valiantly contested. Five days after the bombardment of Vienna, namely, on the 17th of May, the emperor published a decree, by virtue of which the pope's states were united to the French empire, and Rome was declared an imperial city. I will not stop to inquire whether this act was good or bad in point of policy, but it was a mean usurpation on the part of Napoleon, for the time was passed when a Julius II. laid down the keys of St. Peter, and took up the sword of St. Paul. It was, besides, an injustice; and considering the pope's condescension to Napoleon, an act of black ingratitude. The decree of union did not deprive the pope of his residence; but he was only the first bishop of Christendom, with a revenue of two millions.

Napoleon, while at Vienna, heard of the affair of Talaveira de la Reyna. I was informed by a letter from head-quarters, that he was very much affected at the news, and did not conceal his vexation. I verily believe that he was bent on the conquest of Spain, precisely on account of the difficulties he had to surmount. At Talaveira commenced the celebrity of a man, who, perhaps, would not have been without some glory,

even if pains had not been taken to build him up a great reputation. That battle commenced the career of Sir Arthur Wellesley, whose after-success, however, has been attended by such important consequences. Whilst we experienced this check in Spain, the English were attempting an expedition to Holland, where they had already made themselves masters of Walcheren. It is true they were obliged to evacuate it shortly after; but as, at that time, the French and Austrian armies were in a state of inaction, in consequence of the armistice concluded at Znaim, in Moravia, the news unfavourable to Napoleon had the effect of raising the hopes of the Austrian negotiators, who paused in the expectation that fresh defeats would afford them better chances. It was during these negotiations, the termination of which seemed every day to be further distant, that Napoleon was exposed to a more real danger than the wound he had received at Ratisbon. Germany was suffering under a degree of distress difficult to be described. Illuminism was making great progress, and had filled some youthful minds with an enthusiasm not less violent than the religious fanaticism to which Henry IV. fell a victim.

A young man formed the design of assassinating Napoleon, in order to rid Germany of one whom he considered her scourge. Rapp and Berthier were with the emperor when the assassin was arrested, and in relating what I heard from them, I feel assured that I am giving the most faithful account of all the circumstances connected with the event.

"We were at Schœnbrunn," said Rapp, "when the emperor had just reviewed the troops. I observed a young man at the extremity of one of the columns, just as the troops were about to defile. He advanced towards the emperor, who was then between Berthier and me. The Prince de Neufchâtel, thinking he wanted to present a petition, went forward to tell him that I was the person to receive it, as I was the aide-de-camp for the day. The young man replied, that he wished to speak with Napoleon himself, and Berthier again told him he must apply to me. He withdrew a little, still repeating that he wanted to speak with Napoleon. He again advanced and came very near the emperor; I desired him to fall back, telling him in German, to wait till after the parade, when, if he had any thing to say, it would be attended to. I surveyed him attentively, for I began to think his conduct suspicious. I observed that he kept his right hand in the breast pocket of his coat; out of which a piece of paper appeared. I know not how it was, but at that moment my eyes met his, and I was

struck with his peculiar look and air of fixed determination. Seeing an officer of gendarmerie on the spot, I desired him to seize the young man, but without treating him with any severity, and to convey him to the castle until the parade was ended. All this passed in less time than I have taken to tell it; and as every one's attention was fixed on the parade, the scene passed unnoticed. I was shortly afterwards told that a large carving knife had been found on the young man, whose name was Staps. I immediately went to find Duroc, and we proceeded together to the apartment to which Staps had been taken. We found him sitting on a bed, apparently in deep thought, but betraying no symptoms of fear. He had beside him the portrait of a young female, his pocket-book and purse, containing only two pieces of gold. I asked him his name, but he replied, that he would tell it to no one but Napoleon. I then asked him what he intended to do with the knife which had been found upon him? But he answered again, 'I shall tell only Napoleon.'—'Did you mean to attempt his life?' 'Yes.'—'Why?'—'I can tell none but Napoleon.' This appeared to me so strange, that I thought right to inform the emperor of it. When I told him what had passed, he appeared a little agitated, for you know how he was haunted with the idea of assassination. He desired that the young man should be taken into his cabinet, whither he was accordingly conducted by two gendarmes. Notwithstanding his criminal intention, there was something exceedingly prepossessing in his countenance. I wished that he would deny the attempt; but how was it possible to save a man who was determined to sacrifice himself. The emperor asked Staps whether he could speak French, and he answered, that he could speak it very imperfectly, and as you know (continued Rapp) that next to you I am the best German scholar in Napoleon's court, I was appointed interpreter on this occasion. The emperor put the following questions to Staps, which I translated, together with the answers.

" 'Where do you come from?'—'From Narremburgh.'—'What is your father?'—'A protestant minister.'—'How old are you?'—'Eighteen.'—'What did you intend to do with your knife?'—'To kill you.'—'You are mad, young man; you are one of the illuminati.'—'I am not mad: I know not what is meant by the illuminati!'—'You are ill then?'—'I am not: I am very well.'—'Why did you wish to kill me?'—'Because you have ruined my country.'—'Have I done you any harm?'—'Yes, you have harmed me as well

as all Germans.'—'By whom were you sent? Who urged you to this crime?'—'No one; I was urged to it by the sincere conviction, that by killing you, I should render the greatest service to my country.'—'Is this the first time you have seen me?'—'I saw you at Erfurt, at the time of your interview with the Emperor of Russia.'—'Did you intend to kill me then?'—'No; I thought you would not again wage war against Germany. I was one of your greatest admirers.'—'How long have you been in Vienna?'—'Ten days.'—'Why did you wait so long before you attempted the execution of your project?'—'I came to Schönbrunn a week ago, with the intention of killing you, but when I arrived the parade was just over, I therefore deferred the execution of my design till to-day.'—'I tell you young man you are either mad or in bad health.'

"The emperor here ordered Corvisart to be sent for. Staps asked who Corvisart was? I told him that he was a physician. He then said, 'I have no need of him;' nothing further was said until the arrival of the doctor, and during this interval Staps evinced the utmost indifference. When Corvisart arrived, Napoleon directed him to feel the young man's pulse, which he immediately did; and Staps then very coolly said: 'Am I not well, Sir?' Corvisart told the emperor that nothing ailed him. 'I told you so,' said Staps, pronouncing the words with an air of triumph.

"I was really astonished at the coolness and apathy of Staps, and the emperor seemed for a moment confounded by the young man's behaviour. After a few moments' pause the emperor resumed the interrogatory as follows:

"'Your brain is disordered. You will be the ruin of your family. I will grant you your life, if you ask pardon for the crime you meditated, and for which you ought to be sorry.'—'I want no pardon. I only regret having failed in my attempt.'—'Indeed! then a crime is nothing to you.'—'To kill you is no crime: it is a duty.'—'Whose portrait is that which was found on you?'—'It is the portrait of a young lady to whom I am attached.'—'She will doubtless be much distressed at your adventure?'—'She will only be sorry that I have not succeeded. She abhors you as much as I do.'—'But if I were to pardon you, would you be grateful for my mercy?'—'I would, nevertheless, kill you, if I could.'

"I never," continued Rapp, "saw Napoleon look so confounded. The replies of Staps and his immovable resolution perfectly astonished him. He ordered the prisoner to be

removed: and when he was gone Napoleon said 'This is the result of the illuminism which infests Germany. This is the effect of fine principles, and the light of reason. They make young men assassins. But what can be done against illuminism. A sect cannot be destroyed by cannon balls.'

"This event, though pains were taken to keep it secret, became the subject of conversation in the castle of Schœnbrunn. In the evening the emperor sent for me, and said:—'Rapp, the affair of this morning is very extraordinary. I cannot believe that this young man of himself conceived the design of assassinating me. There is something under it. I shall never be persuaded that the intriguers of Berlin and Weimar are strangers to the affair.'—'Sire, allow me to say that your suspicions appear unfounded. Staps has had no accomplice; his placid countenance and even his fanaticism are evident proofs of that.'—'I tell you that he has been instigated by women: furies thirsting for revenge. If I could only obtain proof of it, I would have them seized in the midst of their court.'—'Ah, Sire, it is impossible that either man or woman in the courts of Berlin or Weimar, could have conceived so atrocious a design.'—'I am not sure of that. Did not those women excite Schill against us, while we were at peace with Prussia: but stay a little; we shall see.'—'Schill's enterprise, Sire, bears no resemblance to this attempt.' You know how the emperor likes every one to yield to his opinion, when he has adopted one, which he does not choose to give up; so he said, rather changing his tone of good humoured familiarity:—'All you say is in vain, Monsieur le Général: I am not liked either at Berlin or Weimar.'—'There is no doubt of that, Sire; but because you are not liked in those two courts, is it to be inferred that they would assassinate you?'—'I know the fury of those women; but patience. Write to General Lauer: direct him to interrogate Staps. Tell him to bring him to a confession.'

"I wrote, conformably with the emperor's orders, but no confession was obtained from Staps. In his examination by General Lauer, he repeated nearly what he had said in the presence of Napoleon. His resignation and firmness never forsook him for a moment; and he persisted in saying that he was the sole author of the attempt, and that no one else was aware of it. Staps's enterprise made a profound impression on the emperor. On the day when we left Schœnbrunn, we happened to be alone, and he said to me, 'I cannot get this unfortunate Staps out of my mind. The more I think on the

subject, the more I am perplexed. I never can believe that a young man of his age, a German, one who has received a good education, a Protestant too, could have conceived and attempted such a crime. The Italians are said to be a nation of assassins, but no Italian ever attempted my life. This affair is beyond my comprehension. Inquire how Straps died, and let me know.

"I obtained from General Lauer the information which the emperor desired. I learned that Staps, whose attempt on the emperor's life was made on the 23d of October, was executed at seven o'clock in the morning on the 27th, having refused to take any sustenance since the 24th. When any food was brought to him, he rejected it, saying, 'I shall be strong enough to walk to the scaffold.' When he was told that peace was concluded, he evinced extreme sorrow, and was seized with trembling. On reaching the place of execution, he exclaimed, loudly, 'Liberty for ever! Germany for ever! Death to the tyrant!'"\*

Such are the notes which I committed to paper, after conversing with Rapp, as we were walking together in the garden of the old hotel of Montmorin, in which Rapp resided. I recollect his showing me the knife taken from Staps, which the emperor had given him: it was merely a common carving knife, such as is used in kitchens. To these details may be added a very remarkable circumstance, which I received from another, but not less authentic source. I have been assured, that the attempt of the German Mutius Scævola, had a marked influence on the concessions which the emperor made, because he feared that Staps, like him who attempted the life of Porsenna, might have imitators among the illuminati of Germany.

It is well known that, after the battle of Wagram, conferences were opened at Raab. Although peace was almost absolutely necessary for both powers, and the two emperors appeared to desire it equally, it was not, however, concluded.

\* "I wrote to General Lauer, requesting that he would give us an account of the conduct of Staps in his last moments. He informed me that the prisoner had been executed at seven in the morning of the 27th; that he had taken no sustenance since the 24th; that food had been offered to him, but that he had constantly refused it, because, as he said, he had sufficient strength to walk to the place of execution. He was informed that peace was concluded; and this intelligence seemed to agitate him. His last words were, '*Liberty for ever! Germany for ever! Death to the tyrant!*' I delivered the report to Napoleon. He desired me to keep the knife that had been found upon the criminal: it is still in my possession."—*Memoirs of General Rapp*, p. 147. (E. Ed.)

It is worthy of remark, that the delay was occasioned by Bonaparte. Negotiations were, therefore, suspended; and M. de Champagny had ceased, for several days, to see the Prince of Lichtenstein, when the affair of Staps took place. Immediately after Napoleon's examination of the young fanatic, he sent for M. de Champagny. "How are the negotiations going on?" he inquired. The minister having informed him, the emperor added, "I wish them to be resumed immediately: I wish for peace; do not hesitate about a few millions, more or less, in the indemnity demanded from Austria. Yield on that point. I wish to come to a conclusion: I refer it all to you." The minister lost no time in writing to the Prince de Lichtenstein: on the same night the two negotiators met at Raab, and the clauses of the treaty, which had been suspended, were discussed, agreed upon, and signed that very night. Next morning, M. de Champagny attended the emperor's levee, with the treaty of peace, as it had been agreed on. Napoleon, after hastily examining it, expressed his approbation of every particular, and highly complimented his minister on the speed with which the treaty had been brought to a conclusion.

## CHAPTER XX.

**Results of the union of the papal states with the empire—Bull of excommunication—Removal of the pope from Rome—Coincidences—Marshal Macdonald—The Princess Royal of Denmark—Destruction of the German empire—Napoleon's visit to the courts of Bavaria and Wirtemberg—His return to France—First mention of the divorce—Intelligence of Napoleon's marriage with Maria Louisa—Refusal of the Hanse Towns to pay the French troops—Napoleon's quarrel with Louis—Journey of the emperor and empress into Holland—Seeds of future war with Russia—Decree for burning English merchandize—Plan for turning an inevitable evil to the best account—Fall on the exchange of St. Petersburg.**

I MUST now notice the unfortunate consequences of an event I mentioned in my last chapter, namely—the union of the states of the holy see with the French empire. As I was at Hamburg, I could not of course see what was passing in Rome; but I can place such reliance on the source whence I received the details of what occurred there, that I do not hesitate to vouch for their correctness.

By a decree of the 17th of May, published by the emperor at the camp of Vienna, the papal states were united to the empire. Napoleon conceived that the court of Rome would humble the old power of the triple crown, to the new power of the crown of France, united to the iron crown; but Pius VII. reckoning, perhaps, without foundation, on his influence over the opinions of the age, thought he could renew those papal extravagances, to which in former times imbecile sovereigns had bent the knee. To a decree of aggression, Pius VII. opposed a bill of excommunication. I learned this strange resolution of the holy father through a commercial letter; but I still doubted the fact, until one of my agents, who had been directed to keep watch on the emigrants at Altona, brought me a copy of the bull; it had been given him by one



of the emigrants, who was so far deceived by his address as to trust him.

I know not whether this important document, of which I kept a copy, has since been published, but as I have never seen it in print, I will subjoin it here :

By the authority of the Almighty God, the holy apostles, Peter and Paul, and by our own, we declare that you and all your co-operators, by the act you have just committed, have incurred excommunication, into which (according to the form of our apostolic bulls, which, on such occasions, are posted up in the frequented places in this city), we declare all those have fallen, who, since the last violent invasion of our city, on the 22d of February of the last year, have been guilty, either in Rome, or in the ecclesiastical states, of acts against which we have remonstrated, not only by the numerous protests made by our secretaries of state, who have been successively replaced, but still further in our two consistorial addresses of the 14th of March and the 11th of July, 1808. We also declare as excommunicated all those who were promoters, advisers, and counsellors, of those acts, or whoever has co-operated in their execution.

I learned afterwards that when the emperor, who was at Vienna, received intelligence of this moral opposition of the pope, and heard that the holy father had employed the only arms of which he could avail himself, he showed much anxiety as to the result. But Napoleon would never recede, especially when he had entered upon a wrong course. On the night of the 5th of July, the pope was removed from Rome by General Radet; and the unfortunate pontiff wandered from town to town, but none would receive the illustrious prisoner. However much this proceeding was to be regretted and censured in all points of view, yet Heaven did not immediately avenge the wrongs committed against the head of the church; for the victory of Wagram took place the very day after the removal of the pope.

During the campaign of Vienna I was struck with another coincidence which, under other circumstances, I should not have noticed. On the anniversary of the 14th of July, a day famous in the calendar of the revolution, by the taking of the Bastille and the Federation, another Federation, if I may so express myself, was formed on the field of battle. On that day, the type of French honour, Macdonald, who, after achieving a succession of prodigies, led the army of Italy into the heart of the Austrian states, was made a marshal on

the field; Napoleon said to him, "With us it is, for life and for death." The general opinion was that the elevation of Macdonald added less to the marshal's military reputation than it redounded to the honour of the emperor.

About this time I had the pleasure of again seeing the son of the reigning Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, whose arrival in the Hanse Towns was speedily followed by that of his sister, Princess Frederica Charlotte of Mecklenburg, married to the Prince Royal of Denmark, Christian Frederick. In November the princess arrived at Altona from Copenhagen; the reports circulated respecting her having compelled her husband to separate from her. The history of this princess, who, though perhaps blamable, was, nevertheless, much pitied, was the general subject of conversation in the north of Germany at the time I was at Hamburg. The King of Denmark, grieved at the publicity of the separation, wrote a letter on the subject to the Duke of Mecklenburg. In this letter, which I had an opportunity of seeing, the king expressed his regret at not having been able to prevent the scandal; for, on his return from a journey to Kiel, the affair had become so notorious that all attempts at reconciliation were vain. In the mean time it was settled that the princess was to remain at Altona until something should be decided respecting her future condition.

It was Baron Plessin, the Duke of Mecklenburg's minister of state, who favoured me with a sight of the King of Denmark's letters. M. Plessen told me, likewise, at the time, that the Duke had formed the irrevocable determination of not receiving his daughter. A few days after her arrival, the princess visited Madame de Bourrienne. She invited us to her parties, which were very brilliant, and several times did us the honour of being present at ours. But, unfortunately, the extravagance of her conduct, which was utterly unsuitable to her situation, soon became the subject of general animadversion.

I mentioned, at the close of the last chapter, how the promptitude of M. de Champagny brought about the conclusion of the treaty, known by the name of the treaty of Schönbrunn. By this treaty the old edifice of the German empire was overthrown, and Francis II. became Francis I., Emperor of Austria. He, however, could not say, like his namesake of France, *tout est perdu fors l'honneur*; for honour was somewhat compromised, even had nothing else been lost. But the sacrifices Austria was compelled to make were great.

The territories ceded to France were immediately united into a new general government, under the collective denomination of the Illyrian provinces. Napoleon thus became master of both sides of the Adriatic, by virtue of his twofold title of Emperor of France and King of Italy. Austria, whose external commerce thus received a check, had no longer any direct communication with the sea. The loss of Fiume, Trieste, and the sea-coast, appeared so vast a sacrifice, that it was impossible to look forward to the duration of a peace so dearly purchased.

The affair of Staps, perhaps, made Napoleon anxious to hurry away from Schoenbrunn, for he set off before he had ratified the preliminaries of the peace, announcing that he would ratify them at Munich. He proceeded, in great haste, to Nymphenburg, where he was expected on a visit to the court of Bavaria. He next visited the King of Wirtemberg, whom he pronounced to be the cleverest sovereign in Europe, and at the end of October he arrived at Fontainebleau. From thence he proceeded on horseback to Paris, and he rode so rapidly, that only a single chasseur of his escort could keep up with him, and, attended by this one guard, he entered the court of the Tuileries. While Napoleon was at Fontainebleau, before his return to Paris, Josephine, for the first time, heard the divorce mentioned; the idea had occurred to the emperor's mind while he was at Schoenbrunn.\* It was also

\* This is confirmed by the testimony of Savary, who says—

“ Napoleon often reflected on the best mode of making this communication to the empress; still he was reluctant to speak to her. He was apprehensive of the consequences of her susceptibility of feeling: his heart was never proof against the shedding of tears. He thought, however, that a favourable opportunity offered for breaking the subject previously to his quitting Fontainebleau. He hinted at it in a few words which he had addressed to the empress, but did not explain himself until the arrival of the viceroy, whom he had ordered to join him. He was the first person who spoke openly to his mother, and obtained her consent for that bitter sacrifice. He acted on the occasion like a kind son, and a man grateful to his benefactor, and devoted to his service, by sparing him the necessity of unpleasant explanations towards a partner whose removal was a sacrifice as painful to him as it was affecting. The emperor having arranged whatever related to the future condition of the empress, upon whom he made a liberal settlement, urged the moment of the dissolution of the marriage, no doubt because he felt grieved at the condition of the empress herself, who dined every day, and passed her evenings in the presence of persons who were witnessing her descent from the throne. There existed between him and the Empress Josephine no other bond than a civil act, according to the custom which prevailed at the time of his marriage. Now the laws had foreseen the dissolution of such marriage contracts. A particular day having therefore been fixed upon, the emperor brought together in his apartments those persons whose ministry was required in this case; amongst others, the arch-

while at Fontainebleau that Napoleon appointed M. de Montalivet minister of the interior. The letters which we received from Paris at this period brought intelligence of the brilliant state of the capital during the winter of 1809, and especially of the splendour of the imperial court, where the emperor's levees were attended by the Kings of Saxony, Bavaria, and Wirtemberg, all eager to evince their gratitude to the hero who had raised them to the sovereign rank.

I was the first person in Hamburg who received intelligence of Napoleon's projected marriage with the Archduchess Maria Louisa. The news was brought to me from Vienna by two estafettes. It is impossible to describe the effect produced by the anticipation of this event throughout the north of Germany. From all parts the merchants received orders to buy Austrian stock, in which an extraordinary rise immediately took place. Napoleon's marriage with Maria Louisa was hailed with enthusiastic and general joy. The event was regarded as the guarantee of a long peace, and it was hoped there would be a lasting cessation of the disasters created by the rivalry of France and Austria. The correspondence I received showed that these sentiments were general in the interior of France, and in different countries of Europe; and in spite of the presentiment I had always had of the return of the Bourbons to France, I now began to think that event problematic, or at least very remote.\*

About the beginning of the year 1810, commenced the differences between Napoleon and his brother Louis, which, as I have already stated, ended in a complete rupture. Napoleon's object was to make himself master of the navigation of the Scheldt, which Louis wished should remain free, and hence ensued the union of Holland with the French empire. Holland was the first province of the grand empire which Napoleon took the new empress to visit. This visit took place almost immediately after the marriage. Napoleon first proceeded to Compiègne, where he remained a week. He

chancellor and M. Regnault de Saint-Jean-d'Angély. The emperor then declared in a loud voice his intention of annulling the marriage he had contracted with Josephine, who was present: the empress also made the same declaration, which was interrupted by her repeated sobs. The prince arch-chancellor having caused the article of the law to be read, he applied it to the case before him, and declared the marriage to be dissolved."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo*, vol. ii. p. 175. (E. Ed.)

\* As M. de Bourrienne passes over in silence the ceremonies which attended Napoleon's marriage, the reader is referred to the conclusion of the present chapter for Savary's concise account of Maria Louisa's arrival in France, and the ceremonies at St. Cloud and the Tuilleries.—(E. Ed.)

next set out for Saint-Quentin, and inspected the canal. The empress Maria Louisa then joined him, and they both proceeded to Belgium. At Antwerp the emperor inspected all the works which he had ordered, and to the execution of which he attached great importance. He returned by way of Ostend, Lille, and Normandy, to Saint Cloud, where he arrived on the 1st of June, 1810. He then learned from my correspondence, that the Hanse Towns refused to advance money for the pay of the French troops. The men were absolutely destitute. I declared that it was urgent to put an end to this state of things. The Hanse Towns had been reduced from opulence to misery, by taxation and exactions, and were absolutely unable to maintain the unjust burden now imposed upon them.

Napoleon was still involved in his war against Spain and England. His wish to make peace with the latter power gave rise to several intrigues, by no means of the most dignified kind; but all his efforts failed. The perspective of continued war produced an ill effect every where, but especially in Holland, where the prevailing misery was likely to be augmented by an indefinite prolongation of the restrictions on trade. The question as to what was to become of Holland, was now decided by possession; but it was easy to perceive that the Dutch would seek an opportunity of throwing off the ruinous yoke which France had imposed upon them, and would throw themselves on the protection of the first power who might offer to deliver them. Napoleon had united Holland to the empire, in order to prevent that country from falling under the dominion of the English; but how many interests were violated by that measure. The centre of commercial relations thus attacked in its very foundation, caused a general shock. The union was satisfactory to nobody; but it served to open the eyes of the great powers. It cannot be doubted, that the union of Holland with the empire, was an obstacle to the wished-for peace with England. It was a prelude to the union of the Hanse Towns which disposed Russia to those hostilities necessary to preserve her from ruin.

The summer of 1810 passed away very calmly in the Hanse Towns. However, some apprehensions were entertained for the future, and whenever a new decree, or senatus consultum, announced the union of new provinces to the empire, the most clearsighted persons were not without alarm for the fate which must inevitably await the Hanse Towns. During the same year Napoleon, in a fit of madness, issued a decree

which I cannot characterize by any other epithet than infernal. I allude to the decree for burning all the English merchandise in France, Holland, the Grand Duchy of Berg, the Hanse Towns; in short, in all places subject to the disastrous dominion of Napoleon. In the interior of France, no idea could possibly be formed of the desolation caused by this measure in countries which existed by commerce; and what a spectacle was it to the destitute inhabitants of those countries to witness the destruction of property which, had it been distributed, would have assuaged their misery!

One duty with which I was intrusted, and to which great importance was attached, was the application and execution of the disastrous continental system in the north. In my correspondence I did not conceal the dissatisfaction which this ruinous measure excited, and the emperor's eyes were at length opened on the subject by the following circumstance. In spite of the sincerity with which the Danish government professed to enforce the continental system, Holstein contained a great quantity of colonial produce; and, notwithstanding the measures of severity, it was necessary that that merchandise should find a market somewhere. The smugglers often succeeded in introducing it into Germany, and the whole would probably soon have passed the custom-house limits. All things considered, I thought it advisable to make the best of an evil that could not be avoided. I therefore proposed, that the colonial produce then in Holstein, and which had been imported before the date of the edict for its prohibition, should be allowed to enter Hamburg on the payment of thirty, and on some articles, forty per cent. This duty was to be collected at the custom-house, and was to be confined entirely to articles consumed in Germany. The colonial produce in Altona, Gluckstadt, Husum, and other towns of Holstein, had been estimated at about thirty millions of francs, and the duty would amount to ten or twelve millions. The adoption of the plan I proposed would naturally put a stop to smuggling; for it could not be doubted, that the merchants would give thirty or thirty-three per cent., for the right of carrying on a lawful trade, rather than give forty per cent. to the smugglers, with the chance of seizure.

The emperor immediately adopted my idea; for I transmitted my suggestions to the minister for foreign affairs on the 18th of September, and on the 4th of October, a decree was issued conformable to the plan I proposed. Within six weeks after the decree came into operation, the custom-house

director received thirteen hundred declarations from persons holding colonial produce in Holstein. It now appeared that the duties would amount to forty millions of francs, that is to say, twenty-eight, or thirty millions more than my estimate.

Bernadotte had just been nominated Prince Royal of Sweden. This nomination, with all the circumstances connected with it, as well as Bernadotte's residence in Hamburg, before he proceeded to Stockholm, will be particularly noticed in the next chapter. I merely mention the circumstance here, to explain some events which took place in the north, and which were, more or less, directly connected with it. For example, in the month of September, the course of exchange on St. Petersburg suddenly fell. All the letters which arrived in Hamburg, from the capital of Russia and from Riga, attributed the fall to the election of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo, as Prince Royal of Sweden. Of thirty letters which I received, there was not one but described the consternation which the event had created in St. Petersburg. This consternation, however, might have been excited less by the choice of Sweden, than by the fear that that choice was influenced by the French government.

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## MARRIAGE WITH MARIA LOUISA.

Cherishing for General Lauriston, formerly his aide-de-camp, a friendship of very long standing, Napoleon commissioned him to proceed to Vienna, and to accompany the empress to Paris as the captain of his body guard. With the view of honouring the memory of Marshal Lannes, Duke of Montebello, he appointed his widow to be a lady of honour to the new empress, finding it impossible to bestow upon her a more signal proof of his esteem; for she had not at that time any claim to entitle her to a situation which was to place her, all at once, at the head of the highest society.

He sent his sister, the Queen of Naples, as far as Braunaw, with four ladies of honour, to meet the empress. We had then in Braunaw the corps of Marshal Davoust, who was completing the measure of evacuating Austria. This corps was placed under arms upon the arrival of the empress, and gave her as brilliant a reception as the means of so small a town could afford. The Queen of Naples received the empress at Braunaw, where the ceremony took place of delivering up her majesty by the officers

whom her father had appointed to accompany her, as well as of the delivery of her effects; and, as soon as the empress had clothed herself in the garments brought in the wardrobe from Paris, she passed over the frontier with the ladies of the palace who were in attendance, and gave audience of leave to all those who had accompanied her from Vienna, and were about to return. All this was accomplished within an hour from the time of her arrival at Braunaw.

She departed immediately for Munich, Augsburg, Stutgard, Carlsruhe, and Strasburg, and was received with great splendour at all the foreign courts, and at Strasburg with great enthusiasm. So many hopes were interwoven with the marriage, that her arrival was sincerely greeted by all.

The emperor had gone as far as Compiègne to receive her, the court being then at that residence. He wrote to her every day by a page, who went off at full speed with his letters, and as quickly brought back her replies. I recollect that the emperor having dropped the envelope of the first letter, it was instantly picked up, and handed about the saloon as a specimen of the handwriting of the empress: the eagerness to see it was as great as if her portrait had been exhibited. The pages who came from her were tormented with questions. We had, in short, been transformed at once into courtiers as assiduous as our ancestors in the days of Louis XIV., and would scarcely have been taken for the men who had laid so many nations prostrate at their feet.

The emperor was no less impatient than ourselves, and much more interested in knowing what more peculiarly concerned him: he really appeared love-stricken. He had ordered that the route of the empress should be by way of Nancy, Chalons, Rheims, and Soissons, and could almost point out, at any hour of the day, the progress she had then made.

On the day of her arrival he took his departure in a plain carriage, with no other attendant than the grand marshal, after giving his instructions to Marshal Bessièrès, who remained at Compiègne.

He travelled on the road of Soissons and Rheims, until he met the carriage of the empress, which was suddenly stopped by his courier. The emperor alighted, ran up to the door of the empress's carriage, opened it himself, and stepped in. On perceiving the astonishment of the empress, who knew not the meaning of this abruptness in a stranger, the Queen of Naples said to her, "Madam, this is the emperor." He returned to Compiègne in their company.

Marshal Bessièrès had ordered out all the cavalry quartered near the palace, and advanced with it and with the general officers and the emperor's aides-de-camp on the road to Soissons, as far as a well-known stone bridge, the name of which I do not,



recollect; at the same bridge Louis XV. had met the dauphiness, daughter of Maria Theresa, afterwards the unhappy Queen of France.

The people of Compiègne had succeeded in making their way to the porch of the palace, where they ranged themselves in a double line. The empress, on her arrival, was received at the foot of the principal staircase by the mother and family of the emperor, the whole court, the ministers, and several personages of the highest rank. It is superfluous to name the person who attracted the attention of every one from the moment the carriage-door was opened until the entrance into the apartments. No court was held that night, and all the company withdrew at an early hour.

According to the etiquette observed at foreign courts, the emperor was no doubt married to the Archduchess Maria Louisa: not so, however, with reference to our civil code; nevertheless, it is said that he followed the example of Henry IV. on his marriage with Maria of Medicis. I am only repeating here the illiberal remarks made the next morning, because I am pledged to speak the truth. The world claimed the privilege of seeing and knowing every thing: as to myself, what I actually saw afforded me nothing to cavil at, notwithstanding the prevailing rumours. Had it, however, been my case, I should have followed the precedent of Henry IV. on this occasion. It happened to be my turn to sleep that night in the apartment of the officers in attendance. The emperor had left the palace and retired to the chancellor's residence; and if the report had been brought to me that all Paris was on fire, I should not have attempted to disturb his repose, under the apprehension that he might not be found at that residence.

The next was a very fatiguing day for the young empress, because presentations were made of persons wholly unknown to her, by individuals with whom she was not much more acquainted.

The emperor himself presented to her his aides-de-camp, who felt highly gratified at this condescending mark of his regard; the lady of honour presented the ladies of the palace and others who were to form her retinue.

The emperor proceeded with the empress to St. Cloud on the day after the public presentation, the attendants of both households followed them in separate carriages. They did not pass through Paris, but took the road to St. Denis, the Bois de Boulogne, and St. Cloud: all the authorities of Paris had repaired to the boundary of the department of the Seine, in the direction of Compiègne, and were followed by a great part of the population, who gave themselves up to the joy and enthusiasm which the occasion naturally created.

An immense crowd had collected at St. Cloud to greet her

arrival; first, the princesses of the imperial family, amongst whom were the Vice-queen of Italy, who was then making her first appearance in Paris, the Princess of Baden, the dignitaries, the marshals of France, the senators, and the councillors of state. It was broad daylight when the imperial retinue reached St. Cloud.

The ceremony of the civil marriage did not take place till two days afterwards, in the gallery of the palace of St. Cloud. A platform was raised at the extremity of the gallery, with a table and arm-chairs upon it for the imperial couple, as well as chairs and stools for the princes and princesses of his family: none were present at the ceremony except the persons attached to the respective courts. When all the preliminary arrangements had been gone through, the cortège moved forward from the apartments of the empress, and crossing the grand apartments and the saloon of Hercules, entered the gallery, where it was arranged on the platform in the order laid down by the rules of etiquette. The place of every one had been determined beforehand, so that in an instant the utmost order and silence pervaded the assembly.

The arch-chancellor stood near a table with a rich velvet covering over it, upon which was a register held by Count Regnault de Saint-Jean-d'Angély, the secretary of the imperial family's household. After taking the emperor's orders, the prince arch-chancellor put the following question to him in a loud voice: "Sire, is it your Majesty's intention to take for your lawful wife her Imperial Highness the Archduchess Maria Louisa of Austria, here present?" "Yes, Sir," was the emperor's answer. The arch-chancellor then addressed the empress: "Madam," he said, "does your Imperial Highness, of your own free consent, take the Emperor Napoleon, here present, for your lawful husband?" "Yes, Sir," she replied. The arch-chancellor proceeded then to declare, in the name of the law, and of the institutions of the empire, that his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon and her Imperial Highness the Archduchess Maria Louisa of Austria were duly united in marriage. Count Regnault de Saint-Jean-d'Angély presented the act for signature, first to the emperor, afterwards to the empress, and lastly to all the members of the family, as well as to the different personages whose official ranks entitled them to this honourable privilege.

Next morning, the imperial couple left St. Cloud in a carriage drawn by eight cream-coloured horses, preceded by an empty carriage drawn by eight gray horses, which was intended for the empress; thirty other carriages with a ground of gold, and drawn by superb horses, completed the cortège; these were filled with the ladies and officers of the household, and by those whose employments gave them the privilege of being admitted to the imperial presence. The train left St. Cloud between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, and was escorted by the whole of the cavalry; it passed through the Bois de Boulogne, the Gate

of Maillot, the Champs Elysées, the Place de la Revolution, to the garden of the Tuileries, where all the carriages passed under the peristyle, and stopped, to enable the company to descend and enter the palace.

From the iron railing of the court of the palace of St. Cloud, both sides of the road were lined with so dense a mass of people, that the population of the adjacent country must have flocked to St. Cloud and Paris on the occasion.

The crowd increased on approaching Paris; from the barrier to the palace of the Tuileries it baffled all calculation. Orchestras were placed at stated distances along the Champs Elysées, and played a variety of airs. France appeared to revel in a delight bordering upon frenzy. Many were the protestations of fidelity and attachment made to the emperor; and whosoever had ventured to predict at that time what has since come to pass, would have been scouted as a madman.

When all the carriages had arrived, the cortège resumed its order of etiquette in the gallery of Diana at the Tuileries, and proceeded through a passage expressly constructed for the occasion, and terminating at the gallery of the Museum, which it entered by the door near the Pavilion of Flora.

Here began a new spectacle: both sides of that immense gallery were lined from one end to the other with a triple row of Parisian ladies of the middling class: nothing could be compared to the variegated scene presented by that assemblage of ladies, whose youthful bloom shone forth more dazzling than their elegant attire.

A balustrade extended along both sides of the gallery, in order to prevent any one from passing beyond a certain line, and the middle of this fine edifice was thus free and unobstructed, so as to admit of a passage for the cortège which moved along, and afforded a feast to the eyes as far as the very altar. The vast saloon at the end of the gallery, where the exhibition of paintings generally took place, had been converted into a chapel. Its circuit was lined by a triple row of splendidly ornamented boxes, filled with the most elegant and distinguished ladies then in Paris. The grand master of the ceremonies assigned to the persons composing the cortège their proper places as they arrived in the chapel. The strictest order was observed during the whole of this ceremony. Mass was performed by his eminence Cardinal Fesch, after which the marriage ceremony took place.—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo*, vol. ii. p. 193. (E. Ed.)

CHAPTER XXI.

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**Bernadotte elected Prince Royal of Sweden—Count Wrede's overtures to Bernadotte—Bernadotte's three days' visit to Hamburg—Particulars respecting the battle of Wagram—Secret order of the day—Last intercourse of the Prince Royal of Sweden with Napoleon—My advice to Bernadotte respecting the continental system.**

I now come to one of the periods of my life to which I look back with most satisfaction :—I allude to the time when Bernadotte was with me in Hamburg. I will briefly relate the series of events which led the opposer of the 18th Brumaire to the throne of Sweden.

On the 13th of March, 1809, Gustavus Adolphus was arrested, and his uncle the Duke of Sudermania provisionally took the reins of government. A few days afterwards, Gustavus published his act of abdication, which in the state of Sweden it was impossible for him to refuse. In May following, the Swedish Diet having been convoked at Stockholm, the Duke of Sudermania was elected King. Christian Augustus, the only son of that monarch, of course became Prince Royal on the accession of his father to the throne. He however died suddenly at the end of May, 1810, and Count Fersen, the same who at the court of Marie-Antoinette, was distinguished by the appellation of *le beau Fersen*, was massacred by the populace, who suspected, perhaps unjustly, that he had been accessory to the Prince's death. On the 20th of August following, Bernadotte was elected Prince Royal of Sweden.

After the death of the prince royal, the Duke of Sudermania's son, Count Wrede, a Swede, made the first overtures to Bernadotte, and announced to him, the intention entertained at Stockholm of offering him the throne of Sweden.

Bernadotte was at that time in Paris, and immediately after his first interview with Count Wrede, he waited on the emperor at Saint Cloud; Napoleon coolly replied, that he could be of no service to him; that events must take their course; that he might accept or refuse the offer as he chose; that he (Bonaparte) would place no obstacles in his way, but that he could give him no advice. It was very evident that the choice of Sweden was not very agreeable to Bonaparte, and though he afterwards disavowed any opposition to it, he made overtures to Stockholm, proposing that the crown of Sweden should be added to that of Denmark.

Bernadotte then went to the waters of Plombières, and on his return to Paris he sent me a letter announcing his elevation to the rank of Prince Royal of Sweden.

On the 11th of October he arrived in Hamburg, where he stayed only three days. He passed nearly the whole of that time with me, and he communicated to me many curious facts connected with the secret history of the times, and among other things some particulars respecting the battle of Wagram. I was the first to mention to the new Prince Royal of Sweden the reports of the doubtful manner in which the troops, under his command, behaved. I reminded him of Bonaparte's dissatisfaction at these troops: for there was no doubt of the emperor being the author of the complaints contained in the bulletins, especially as he had withdrawn the troops from Bernadotte's command. Bernadotte assured me that Napoleon's censure was unjust: he had during the battle complained of the little spirit manifested by the soldiers. "He refused to see me," added Bernadotte, "and I was told, as a reason for his refusal, that he was astonished and displeased to find, that notwithstanding his complaints, of which I must have heard, I had boasted of having gained the battle; and had publicly complimented the Saxons, whom I commanded."

Bernadotte then showed me the bulletin he drew up after the battle of Wagram. I remarked that I had never heard of a bulletin being made by any other than the general who was commander-in-chief during a battle, and I asked how the affair ended. He then handed to me a copy of the order of the day, which Napoleon said he had sent only to the marshals commanding the army corps. As this remarkable document is but little known, I may subjoin it here.

## ORDER OF THE DAY.

Imperial camp of Schoenbrunn, July 9, 1809.

His majesty expresses his displeasure at the Prince de Ponte-Corvo's order, dated Leopoldstadt, July 7th, and inserted on the same day in nearly all the newspapers, in the following terms: "Saxons, on the 5th July, seven or eight thousand of you pierced the enemy's centre, and marched on Deutsch-Wagram in spite of the efforts of 40,000 men, supported by 60 pieces of artillery. You fought till midnight, and bivouacked in the midst of the Austrian lines. On the sixth, at daybreak, you recommenced the battle with the same perseverance, and in the midst of the ravages of the enemy's artillery, your columns stood firm as iron. The great Napoleon witnessed your courage, and reckons you among his bravest troops. Saxons, the fortune of a soldier consists in fulfilling his duty; you have nobly fulfilled yours.

" BERNADOTTE.

" Bivouac at Leopoldstadt, July 7, 1809."

Independently of his majesty having commanded his army in person, it is for him alone to award the degree of glory each has merited. His majesty owes the success of his arms to the French troops, and to no foreigners. The Prince de Ponte-Corvo's order of the day has a tendency to inspire false pretensions in troops, whose merit does not rise above mediocrity: it is at variance with truth, policy, and national honour. The success of the 5th is due to the Duke de Rivoli and Marshal Oudinot, who penetrated the enemy's centre, at the same time that the Duke of Auerstadt's corps turned his left. The village of Deutsch-Wagram was not taken on the 5th, but on the 6th, by the corps of Marshal Oudinot. The Prince of Ponte-Corvo did not stand as *firm as iron*. He was the first to retreat. His majesty was obliged to order the corps of the viceroy be to covered by the divisions of Broussier and Lamarque, commanded by Marshal Macdonald, by the division of heavy cavalry, commanded by General Nansouty, and by a part of the cavalry of the guard. To Marshal Macdonald and his troops is due the merit which the Prince de Ponte-Corvo takes to himself. His majesty hopes that this expression of his displeasure will henceforth deter any marshal from appropriating to himself the glory which belongs to others. His majesty, however, desires that the present order of the day which may possibly be mortifying to the Saxon troops, though they must be aware that they are not

entitled to the praises bestowed on them, shall remain secret, and be sent only to the marshals commanding the army corps.

NAPOLEON.

Bernadotte's bulletin was printed along with Bonaparte's order of the day, a thing quite unparalleled.\*

Though I was much interested in this account of Bonaparte's conduct after the battle of Wagram, yet I was more curious to hear the particulars of Bernadotte's last communication with the emperor. The prince informed me, that on his return from Plombières, he attended the levee, when the emperor asked him before every one present, whether he had received any recent news from Sweden. He replied in the affirmative: "What is it?" inquired Napoleon.—"Sire, I am informed that your Majesty's chargé-d'affaires at Stockholm opposes my re-election. It is also reported to those who choose to believe it, that your Majesty gives the preference to the King of Denmark." "At these words," continued Bernadotte, "the emperor affected surprise, which you know he can do very artfully. He assured me it was impossible, and then turned the conversation to another subject. I know not what to think of his conduct in this affair. I am aware he does not like me; but the interests of his policy may render him favourable to Sweden. Considering the present greatness and power of France, I conceived it to be my duty to make every personal sacrifice. But I swear to Heaven that I will never compromise the honour of Sweden. He, however, expressed himself in the best possible terms in speaking of Charles XIII. and me. He at first started no obstacle to my acceptance of the succession to the throne of Sweden, and he ordered the official announcement of my election to be immediately inserted in the *Moniteur*. Ten days elapsed without the emperor's saying a word to me about my departure. As I was anxious to be off, and all my preparations were made, I determined to go and ask him for the letters patent, to relieve me from my oath of fidelity, which I certainly kept faithfully in spite of all his ill-treatment of me. He, at first, appeared somewhat surprised at my request, and after a little hesitation he said, 'There is a preliminary condition to be fulfilled; a question has been raised by one of the members of the privy

\* For Savary's version of the difference which arose between Bonaparte and Bernadotte at Wagram, together with some interesting anecdotes connected with the battle, the reader is referred to the conclusion of the present chapter.—E. Ed.

council,'—'What condition, Sire?'—'You must pledge yourself not to bear arms against me.'—'Does your Majesty suppose that I can bind myself by such an engagement? My election by the diet of Sweden, which has met with your Majesty's assent, has made me a Swedish subject, and that character is incompatible with the pledge proposed by a member of the council. I am sure it could never have emanated from your Majesty, and must proceed from the arch-chancellor, or the grand judge, who certainly could not have been aware of the height to which the proposition would raise me.'—'What do you mean?'—'If, Sire, you prevent me accepting a crown, unless I pledge myself not to bear arms against you, do you not really place me on a level with you as a general?'

"Whenever I declared positively, that my election must make me consider myself a Swedish subject, he frowned, and seemed embarrassed. When I had done speaking, he said, in a low and faltering voice, 'Well, go. Our destinies will soon be accomplished.' These words were uttered so indistinctly, that I was obliged to beg pardon for not having heard what he said, and he repeated—'Go! our destinies will soon be accomplished.' In the subsequent conversations which I had with the emperor, I tried all possible means to remove the unfavourable sentiments he cherished towards me. I revived my recollections of history. I spoke to him of the great men who had excited the admiration of the world, of the difficulties and obstacles which they had to surmount; and, above all, I dwelt upon that solid glory which is founded on the establishment and maintenance of public tranquillity and happiness. The emperor listened to me attentively, and frequently concurred in my opinion of the principles of the prosperity and stability of states. One day, he took my hand and pressed it affectionately, as if to assure me of his friendship and protection. Though I knew him to be an adept in the art of dissimulation, yet his affected kindness appeared so natural, that I thought all his unfavourable feeling towards me was at an end. I spoke to persons by whom our two families were allied, requested that they would assure the emperor of the reciprocity of my sentiments, and tell him, that I was ready to assist his great plans in any way not hostile to the interests of Sweden.

"Would you believe, my dear friend, that the persons to whom I made these candid protestations, laughed at my credulity! They told me, that after the conversation, in which



the emperor had so cordially pressed my hand, I had scarcely taken leave of him, when he was heard to say, that I had made a great display of my learning to him, and that he had humoured me like a child. He wished to inspire me with full confidence, so as to put me off my guard; and I know for a certainty, that he had the design of arresting me.

"But," pursued Bernadotte, "in spite of the feeling of animosity which I know the emperor has cherished for me since the 18th Brumaire, I do not think, when once I shall be in Sweden, that he will wish to have any differences with the Swedish government. I must tell you also, he has given me two millions in exchange for my principality of Ponte-Corvo. Half the sum has been already paid, which will be very useful to me in defraying the expenses of my journey and installation.\* When I was about to step into my carriage to set off, an individual, of whom you must spare me the naming, came to bid me farewell, and related to me a little conversation which had just taken place at the Tuileries. Napoleon said to the individual in question, 'Well, does not the prince regret leaving France?'—'Certainly, Sire.'—'As to me, I should have been very glad if he had not accepted his election. But there is no help for it. . . . He does not like me.'—'Sire, I must take the liberty of saying, that your Majesty labours under a mistake. I know the differences which have existed between you and General Bernadotte for the last six years. I know how he opposed the overthrow of the Directory; but I also know that the prince has long been sincerely attached to you.'—'Well, I dare say you are right. But we have not understood each other. It is now too late. He has his interests and his policy, and I have mine.'

"Such," added the prince, "were the emperor's last observations respecting me two hours before my departure. The individual to whom I have just alluded, spoke truly, my dear Bourrienne. I am, indeed, sorry to leave France; and I never should have left it, but for the injustice of Bonaparte. If ever I ascend the throne of Sweden, I shall owe my crown to his ill-treatment of me; for had he not persecuted me by his animosity, my condition would have sufficed for a soldier of fortune: but we must follow our fate."

During the three days the prince spent with me, I had

\* The other million stipulated in exchange for the principality of Ponte-Corvo, was never paid to Bernadotte.

many other conversations with him. He wished me to give him my advice as to the course he should pursue, relative to the continental system. "I advise you," said I, "to reject the system without hesitation. It may be very fine in theory; but it is utterly impossible to carry it into practice, and it will, in the end, give the trade of the world to England. It excites the dissatisfaction of our allies, who, in spite of themselves, will again become our enemies. But no other country, except Russia, is in the situation of Sweden. You want a number of objects of the first necessity, which nature has withheld from you. You can only obtain them by perfect freedom of navigation; and you can only pay for them with those peculiar productions in which Sweden abounds. It would be out of all reason to close your ports against a nation who rules the seas. It is your navy that would be blockaded, not hers. What can France do against you? She may invade you by land. But England and Russia will exert all their efforts to oppose her. By sea it is still more impossible that she could do any thing. Then you have nothing to fear but Russia and England, and it will be easy for you to keep up friendly relations with those two powers. Take my advice; sell your iron, timber, leather, and pitch: take in return salt, wines, brandy, and colonial produce. This is the way to make yourself popular in Sweden. If, on the contrary, you follow the continental system, you will be obliged to adopt laws against smuggling, which will draw upon you the aversion of the people."

Such was the advice which I gave to Bernadotte, when he was about to commence his new and brilliant career. In spite of my situation as a French minister, I could not have reconciled it to my conscience to give him any other counsel. For if diplomacy has duties so also has friendship. Bernadotte adopted my advice, and the King of Sweden has now no reason to regret having done so.

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### BATTLE OF WAGRAM.

"Early in the morning of the 9th, after despatching orders in various directions, Napoleon was taken rather seriously ill, in consequence of his fatigue and exertion. This circumstance compelled him to indulge in a little rest whilst the troops were advancing.

“ Marshal Bernadotte came at that time to see the emperor, who had left orders that no one should disturb him until he called ; I therefore refused to introduce the marshal, the object of whose visit was wholly unknown to me. I had witnessed the lukewarmness which his troops had evinced in the battle : ever since the opening of the campaign, he had been incessantly complaining of want of ardour in his troops, of their inexperience, and of their want of confidence in their leaders. I should therefore have exhausted every supposition before I could have imagined that contradicting on a sudden the unfavourable opinion he had given of their courage, he could ever dream that those troops had decided the victory we had just obtained. The emperor was soon made acquainted with that unaccountable order of the day ; he sent for the marshal, and removed him from the command of his troops. This lesson was ineffectual ; Bernadotte, who persisted in maintaining the justice of the ridiculous congratulations he had addressed to the Saxons, caused them to be inserted in the public papers. The emperor was indignant at this conduct ; being at all times inflexibly severe against every impropriety of conduct and every act of falsehood ; though he was unwilling, at the same time, to wound the feelings of men who had exposed their lives in his service. The insult, however, was such, that he felt it impossible to pass it by. He issued an order of the day, which he directed the major-general not to circulate, either amongst the army at large, or the Saxon troops, of which he had given the command to General Regnier.

“ At one period of the engagement the enemy's right was taking up a position in a perpendicular line to our extreme left, and compelled us to give it the form of an angle for the purpose of returning the enemy's fire. They had placed some pieces of artillery in such a manner as to fire upon the angle or elbow, whilst they were cannonading us on both sides of the angle. I know not what was the emperor's object, but he remained a full hour at that angle, which was a perfect stream of shot ; and as there was no fire of musketry kept up, the soldiers became discouraged. The emperor was more sensible than any one else that such a situation could not last long, and he remained there for the purpose of remedying the disorder. In the height of the danger, he rode in front of the line upon a horse as white as snow (it was called the Euphrates, and had been sent to him as a present from the Sophi of Persia). He proceeded from one extremity of the line to the other, and returned at a slow pace : it will easily be believed that shots were flying about him in every direction. I kept behind, with my eyes rivetted upon him, expecting at every moment to see him drop from his horse.”—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo*, vol. ii. p. 129.

“ The emperor ordered, that as soon as the opening which he

intended to make in the enemy's centre should be effected, the whole cavalry should charge and wheel round upon all the troops that had penetrated to the extremity of our left. He had given directions, in consequence, to Marshal Bessières; and the latter had that moment started to execute them, when he was knocked down by the most extraordinary cannon-shot ever seen. It ran in full sweep along the thigh, in a zigzag direction, as if it had been a thunderbolt; and the marshal was so suddenly thrown off his horse, that we fancied he was killed on the spot. The same shot forced the barrel from his pistol, and carried away both barrel and stock. The emperor saw him fall, but not having recognised him, asked, as he usually did on similar occasions, 'Who is it?'—'Bessières Sire,' was the reply. He instantly turned his horse round, saying, 'Let us go, I have no time to weep. Let us avoid another scene.' He alluded to the distress he had suffered at the death of Marshal Lannes. He sent me to see whether Bessières was still alive. He had been carried off the ground, and had recovered his senses, having merely been struck on the thigh, which was completely paralyzed."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo*, vol. ii. p. 121.

"The inhabitants of Vienna had ascended to the ramparts and the roofs of the houses, from whence they witnessed the battle. In the morning the ladies of that city were flushed with the hope of our defeat. This hope was converted to general gloom towards two in the afternoon. They discerned the retreat of the Austrian army, as plainly as it could be seen on the field of battle."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo*, vol. ii. p. 124.

"The emperor was going over the field of battle the same evening when intelligence was brought him of the death of General Lasalle, who had just been killed by one of the last musket-shots fired before the final retreat of the enemy. That general had had, in the morning, a strange presentiment of the fate that awaited him. The acquisition of glory had been an object of much greater solicitude to him than the advancement of his fortune; but, on the night previous to the battle, he seems to have had the fate of his children strongly impressed upon his mind, and he awoke to draw up a petition to the emperor in their behalf, which he placed in his sabre-tasche. When the emperor passed in the morning in front of his division, General Lasalle did not address him; but he stopped M. Maret, who was a few paces behind, and told him that, never having asked any favour of the emperor, he begged he would take charge of the petition which he then handed to him, in case any misfortune should befall him; a few hours afterwards he was no more."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo*, vol. ii. p. 125.

"As Napoleon was going over the field of battle, he stopped on the ground which had been occupied by Macdonald's two divi-

sions ; it exhibited the picture of a loss fully commensurate with the valour they had displayed. The emperor recognised amongst the slain a colonel who had given him some cause for displeasure. That officer, who had made the campaign of Egypt, had misbehaved after the departure of General Bonaparte, and proved ungrateful towards his benefactor, in hopes, no doubt, of insinuating himself into the good graces of the general who had succeeded him. On the return of the army of Egypt to France, the emperor, who had shown him many marks of kindness during the war in Italy, gave no signs of resentment, but granted him none of those favours which he heaped upon all those who had been in Egypt. The emperor now said, on seeing him stretched upon the field of battle, 'I regret not having been able to speak to him before the battle, in order to tell him that I had long since forgotten every thing.'

"A few steps further on, he discovered a young quartermaster of the regiment of carabineers still alive, although a shot had gone through his head ; but the heat and dust had almost immediately congealed the blood, so that the brain could not be affected by the air. The emperor dismounted, felt his pulse, and, with his handkerchief, endeavoured to clear the nostrils, which were filled with earth. He then applied a little brandy to his lips ; whereupon the wounded man opened his eyes, though he appeared at first to be quite insensible to the act of humanity exercised towards him ; but having again opened them, and fixed them on the emperor, whom he now recognised, they immediately filled with tears, and he would have sobbed, had not his strength forsaken him. The wretched man could not escape death, according to the opinion of the surgeons who were called to his assistance.

"After having gone over the ground where the army had fought, the emperor went to place himself in the midst of the troops, which were beginning to move for the purpose of following the retreating enemy. On passing by Macdonald, he stopped, and held out his hand to him, saying, 'Shake hands, Macdonald ! no more animosity between us : we must henceforward be friends ; and, as a pledge of my sincerity, I will send you your marshal's staff, which you so gloriously earned in yesterday's battle.' Macdonald had been in a kind of disgrace for many years : it would be difficult to assign any reason for it, except the intrigue and jealousy to which an elevated mind is always exposed. Malevolence had succeeded in inducing the emperor to remove him from his presence ; and his innate pride had withheld him from taking any step towards reconciliation with a sovereign who did not treat him with that kindness to which he felt he had a claim."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo*, vol. ii. p. 128.

"One evening, after the battle of Wagram, we were playing

at *vingt-et-un*. Napoleon was very fond of this game ; he used to try to deceive those he was playing with, and was much amused at the tricks he played. He had a great quantity of gold spread out upon the table before him. ‘ Rapp,’ said he, ‘ are not the Germans very fond of these little Napoleons ? ’—‘ Yes, Sire, they like them much better than the great one.’—‘ That, I suppose,’ said he, ‘ is what you call German frankness.’—*Memoirs of General Rapp*, p. 25.

## CHAPTER XXII.

- Bernadotte's departure from Hamburg—The Duke of Holstein-Augustenburg—Arrival of the crown prince in Sweden—Misunderstandings between him and Napoleon—Letter from Bernadotte to the emperor—Plot for kidnapping the Prince Royal of Sweden—Invasion of Swedish Pomerania—Forced alliance of Sweden with England and Russia—Napoleon's overtures to Sweden—Bernadotte's letter of explanation to the emperor—Distress in England—The Minerva—Colonel Burr—The Princess Royal of Sweden—My recal to Paris—Union of the Hanse Towns with France—Dissatisfaction of Russia—Extraordinary demand made upon me by Bonaparte—Fidelity of my old friends—Duroc and Rapp—Visit to Malmaison, and conversation with Josephine.

WHILE Bernadotte was preparing to fill the high station to which he had been called by the unbiassed wishes of the people of Sweden, Napoleon was involved in his misunderstanding with the pope, and in the affairs of Portugal, which were far from proceeding according to his wishes. Bernadotte had scarcely quitted Hamburg for Sweden, when the Duke of Holstein-Augustenburg arrived. The duke was the brother of the last Prince Royal of Sweden, whom Bernadotte was called to succeed, and he came to escort his sister from Altona to Denmark. His journey had been retarded for some days, on account of the presence of the Prince of Pontecorvo in Hamburg: the preference granted to Bernadotte had mortified his ambition, and he was unwilling to come in contact with his fortunate rival. The duke was favoured by the Emperor of Russia.

As soon as he arrived in Sweden, Bernadotte directed his aide-de-camp, General Gentil-Saint-Alphonse, to inform me of his safe passage. Shortly after, I received a letter from Bernadotte himself, recommending one of his aides-de-camp, M. Villatte, who was the bearer of it. This letter contained the same sentiments of friendship as those I used to receive from General Bernadotte; and formed a contrast with the

correspondence of King Jerome, who, when he wrote to me, assumed the regal character, and prayed that God would have me in his holy keeping. However, the following is the prince royal's letter :

MY DEAR BOURRIENNE,

I have directed M. Villatte to see you on his way through Hamburg, and to bear my friendly remembrances to you. Gentil has addressed his letter to you, which I suppose you have already received. Adieu, and believe in the unalterable attachment of yours,

CHARLES JOHN.

P. S. I beg you will present my compliments to Madame, and all your family : embrace my little cousin for me.

The *little cousin*, so called by Bernadotte, was one of my daughters, then a child, whom Bernadotte used to be very fond of while he was at Hamburg.

Departing from the order of dates, I will here anticipate the future, and relate all I know respecting the real causes of the misunderstanding which arose between Bernadotte and Napoleon. Bonaparte viewed the choice of the Swedes with great displeasure, because he was well aware that Bernadotte had too much integrity and honour to serve him in the north as a political puppet, set in motion by means of strings which he might touch at Paris, or at his head-quarters. His dissatisfaction upon this point, occasioned an interesting correspondence, part of which, consisting of letters from Bernadotte to the emperor, is in my possession. The emperor had allowed Bernadotte to retain in his service, for a year at least, the French officers who were his aides-de-camp ; but that permission was soon revoked, and the Prince Royal of Sweden wrote to Napoleon the following letter of remonstrance :

“ At the moment when I was about to address my thanks to your Majesty for your kindness in continuing, during another year, the permission you granted to the French officers who accompanied me to Sweden, I learn that your Majesty has revoked that favour. This unexpected disappointment, and, in fact, every thing that I learn from Paris indicates that your Majesty is not well disposed towards me. What have I done that deserves this treatment ? I must look to calumny as the sole cause. In the new position in which fortune has placed me, I am, doubtless, likely to be more than ever exposed to calumny if I do not find a defender in the heart of your Majesty. Whatever



may be said to you, Sire, I beg of you to believe that I have nothing to reproach myself with, and that I am entirely devoted to your person, not only by the strength of old ties, but by an unalterable affection. If the affairs of Sweden do not go on entirely as your Majesty wishes, it is solely owing to the constitution. It is not in the power of the king to control the constitution; still less is it in mine. In this country there are many separate interests to be united into one great national interest; there are four orders of the state to be amalgamated into one; and it is only by the most prudent and circumspect conduct, that I can hope one day to ascend the throne of Sweden. As M. Gentil de St. Alphonse returns to France, in conformity with your Majesty's orders, I commission him to deliver you this letter. Your Majesty may question him. He has seen every thing, and he will be able to explain to your Majesty how difficult is my situation. He can assure your Majesty how anxious I am to please you; and that I am in a state of continual perplexity between my new duties and the fear of displeasing you. I am grieved that your Majesty should withdraw the officers whose services you granted me for a year, but in obedience to your commands, I send them back to France. Perhaps your Majesty may be inclined to change your determination; in which case, I beg that you will, yourself, fix the number of officers you may think proper to send me. I shall receive them with gratitude. If, on the contrary, your Majesty should retain them in France, I recommend them to your favour. They have always served me well; and they have had no share in the rewards which were distributed after the last campaign.

Napoleon's dissatisfaction with the prince royal now changed to decided resentment. He repented having acceded to his departure from France, and he made no secret of his sentiments; for he said before his courtiers, "That he wished he had sent Bernadotte to Vincennes, to finish his study of the Swedish language." Bernadotte was informed of this; but he could not believe that the emperor had ever entertained such a design. However, a conspiracy was formed in Sweden against Bernadotte, whom a party of foreign brigands were hired to kidnap in the neighbourhood of Haga; but the plot was discovered, and the conspirators were compelled to embark without their prey. The emperor having, at the same time, seized upon Swedish Pomerania, the prince royal wrote him a second letter in these terms:

From the papers which have just arrived, I learn that a division of the army, under the command of the Prince of Eckmuhl, invaded Swedish Pomerania on the night of the 26th of January;

that the division continued to advance, entered the capital of the duchy, and took possession of the island of Rugen. The king expects that your Majesty will explain the reasons which have induced you to act in a manner so contrary to the faith of existing treaties. My old connection with your Majesty, warrants me in requesting you to declare your motives without delay, in order that I may give my advice to the king as to the conduct which Sweden ought, hereafter, to adopt. This gratuitous outrage against Sweden is felt deeply by the nation; and still more, Sire, by me, to whom is intrusted the honour of defending it. Though I have contributed to the triumphs of France, though I have always desired to see her respected and happy; yet I can never think of sacrificing the interests, honour, and independence of the country which has adopted me. Your Majesty, who has so ready a perception of what is just, must admit the propriety of my resolution. Though I am not jealous of the glory and power which surrounds you, I cannot submit to the dishonour of being regarded as a vassal. Your Majesty governs the greatest part of Europe, but your dominion does not extend to the nation which I have been called to govern: my ambition is limited to the defence of Sweden. The effect produced upon the people by the invasion of which I complain, may lead to consequences which it is impossible to foresee; and although I am not a Coriolanus, and do not command the Volsci, I have a sufficiently good opinion of the Swedes to assure you that they dare undertake any thing to avenge insults which they have not provoked, and to preserve rights to which they are as much attached as to their lives.

I was in Paris when the emperor received Bernadotte's letter on the occupation of Swedish Pomerania. When Bonaparte read it, I was informed that he flew into a violent rage, and even exclaimed:—"You shall submit to your degradation, or die sword in hand." But his rage was impotent. The unexpected occupation of Swedish Pomerania obliged the King of Sweden to come to a decided rupture with France, and to seek other allies; for Sweden was not strong enough in herself to maintain neutrality in the midst of the general devastation of Europe, after the disastrous campaign of Moscow. The prince royal, therefore, declared to Russia and England, that in consequence of the unjust invasion of Pomerania, Sweden was at war with France, and he despatched Count de Lowenhjelm, the king's aide-de-camp, with a letter explanatory of his views. Napoleon sent many notes to Stockholm, where M. Alquier, his ambassador, according to his instructions, had maintained a haughty, and even insulting tone towards Sweden. Napoleon's overtures after the mani-

festations of his anger, and after the attempt to carry off the prince royal, which could be attributed only to him, were considered by the prince royal merely as a snare. But in the hope of reconciling the duties he owed to both his old and his new country, he addressed to the emperor the following firm and moderate letter :

I have received some notes, the contents of which induce me to come to a candid explanation with your Majesty. When by the wish of the Swedish people I was called to the succession of the throne, I hoped, on quitting France, that I should always be able to reconcile my personal affections with the interests of my new country. My heart cherished the hope that I could identify myself with the affections of this people, and at the same time preserve the recollection of my early connections, and never lose sight of the glory of France, nor of my sincere attachment to your Majesty, an attachment founded on our fraternity in arms, which was distinguished by so many great actions. Full of this hope I arrived in Sweden. I found a nation generally attached to France, but more jealous of their own liberty and laws; anxious for your friendship, Sire, but not wishing to purchase it at the expense of honour and independence. Your Majesty's ambassador thought proper to disregard this national feeling, and has ruined all by his arrogance. His communications bore no trace of the respect due from one crowned head to another. In fulfilling, according to the dictates of his own passions, your Majesty's intentions, Baron Alquier spoke like a Roman proconsul, forgetting that he did not address himself to slaves. This ambassador was the cause of the distrust which Sweden began to entertain respecting your Majesty's intentions, and which subsequent events were calculated to confirm. I have already had the honour, Sire, in my letters of November 19, and December 8, 1810, to make your Majesty acquainted with the situation of Sweden, and her wish to find a protector in your Majesty. She could only attribute your Majesty's silence to an unmerited indifference, and it became her duty to take precautions against the storm which was ready to break upon the continent. Sire, mankind have already suffered too much; during twenty years the world has been deluged with blood, and all that is necessary to raise your Majesty's glory to the highest pitch, is to put a period to these disasters. If your Majesty wishes the king should give the Emperor Alexander to understand that there is a possibility of reconciliation, I have sufficient faith in the magnanimity of that monarch to venture to assure you, that he will readily listen to overtures which would be at once equitable for your empire and for the North. If an event so unexpected, and so generally desired, should take place, what blessings would the people of the con-

continent invoke upon your Majesty! Their gratitude would be increased in proportion to the fear now entertained for the return of a scourge which has already made such cruel ravages. One of the happiest moments I have known since I quitted France, was that in which I was assured that your Majesty had not entirely forgotten me. You have truly devined my sentiments. You have perceived how deeply they would be wounded by the painful prospect of either seeing the interests of Sweden separated from those of France, or of finding myself compelled to sacrifice the interests of a country by which I have been adopted with such unlimited confidence. Sire, although a Swede by the obligations of honour, duty, and religion; yet by feeling, I am still identified with France, my native country, which I have always faithfully served from my boyhood. Every step I take in Sweden, and the homage I receive here, revive those recollections of glory to which I chiefly owe my elevation, and I cannot disguise from myself the fact, that Sweden, in chosing me, intended to pay a tribute of esteem to the French people.

This letter throws a great light on the conduct of the emperor with respect to Bernadotte; for Napoleon was not the man whom any one whatever would have ventured to remind of facts, the accuracy of which was in the least degree questionable. Such then were the relations between Napoleon and the Prince Royal of Sweden. When I shall bring to light some curious secrets, which have hitherto been veiled beneath the mysteries of the restoration, it will be seen by what means Napoleon, before his fall, again sought to wreak his vengeance upon Bernadotte.

In December, 1810, the misery which had previously prevailed on the continent, began to be felt in England. Some Hamburg merchants received from London a letter, which was communicated to me, and from which I copied the following passage:—"We are in a very distressing situation. Discontent affects all classes, and threatens to become general. Our trade still keeps up, but it is attended only with loss, to which must be added embarrassments on the Exchange. The affairs of the Baltic have cost our merchants immense sums. Every one wishes for a change." This information was exactly that which pleased Bonaparte: for nothing gratified him so much as the idea of difficulties felt in the London exchange, which he attributed to his admirable continental system.

On the 6th of December I received a letter from the minister for foreign affairs, communicating the emperor's complaints respecting a monthly journal printed at Hamburg, under the

title of *The Minerva*, which had a great circulation in Germany, and other parts of the north. My attention was directed to the number for October, amongst others, which I was sharply reprimanded for having allowed to appear. That number really contained nothing which could justify the least censure on me. The *Minerva*, so far from being hostile to the emperor, had by my care, become quite a French journal in opinion and principles. The paper had formerly been conducted by M. Archenholtz, who had been a captain in the Prussian service. He was infected with anglo-mania, and was inclined to fill the publication with articles in unison with his prejudices. During the four years that he had the management of the *Minerva*, I had great difficulty in preventing him from gratifying his taste in that way. However I sometimes succeeded in obtaining the insertion of articles favourable to France and her system. I at length prevailed upon M. Archenholtz to resign the management of the *Minerva* to M. Bran, a young man of considerable talent, whose sentiments were very favourable to France. When the emperor's complaints were forwarded to me, M. Bran had been for about a year editor of the *Minerva*, and it was quite impossible that the publication could at that time have contained any objectionable article; on the contrary, the spirit in which the *Minerva* was conducted continually exposed M. Bran to the attacks of the partisans of England.

At the height of his glory and power, Bonaparte was so suspicious, that the veriest trifle sufficed to alarm him. I recollect, that about the time the complaints were made respecting the *Minerva*, Colonel Burr, formerly Vice-President of the United States, who had recently arrived at Altona, was pointed out to me as a dangerous man, and I received orders to watch him very closely, and even to arrest him on the slightest ground of suspicion, if he should come to Hamburg. Colonel Burr was one of those in favour of whom I ventured to disobey the orders I received from the restless police of Paris. As soon as the minister of the police heard of his arrival at Altona, he directed me to adopt towards him those vigilant measures which are equivalent to persecution. In answer to these instructions, I stated that Colonel Burr conducted himself at Altona with much prudence and propriety; that he kept but little company; and that he was scarcely spoken of. Far from regarding him as a man who required watching, having learned that he wished to go to Paris, I caused a passport to be procured for him, which he was to receive at Frankfort, and I never

heard that this dangerous citizen had compromised the safety of the state in any way.

On the 4th of December, I had the honour to see the Princess Royal of Sweden, who arrived that day at Hamburg. She merely passed through the city on her way to Stockholm, to join her husband. She remained but a short time in Sweden, two months I believe, at most, not being able to reconcile herself to the ancient Scandinavia. As to the prince royal, he soon became inured to the climate, having been for many years employed in the north. After this, my stay at Hamburg was not of long duration. Bonaparte's passion for territorial aggrandizement knew no bounds, and the turn of the Hanse Towns now arrived. By taking possession of those towns and territories, he merely accomplished a design formed long previously. I, however, was recalled with many complaints, and under the specious pretext that the emperor wished to hear my opinions respecting the country in which I had been residing. At the beginning of December, I received a letter from M. de Champagny, stating that the emperor wished to see me, in order to consult with me upon different things relative to Hamburg. In this note I was told "that the information I had obtained respecting Hamburg and the north of Germany might be useful to the public interest, which must be the most gratifying reward of my labours." The reception which awaited me will presently be seen. The conclusion of the letter spoke in very flattering terms of the manner in which I had discharged my duties. I received it on the 8th of December, and next day I set out for Paris. When I arrived at Mentz I was enabled to form a correct idea of the fine compliments which had been paid me, and of the emperor's anxiety to have my opinion respecting the Hanse Towns. In Mentz I met the courier, who was proceeding to announce the union of the Hanse Towns with the French empire. I confess, that notwithstanding the experience I had acquired of Bonaparte's duplicity, or rather, of the infinite multiplicity of his artifices, he completely took me by surprise on that occasion.

On my arrival in Paris, I did not see the emperor; but the first *Moniteur* I read contained the formula of a *senatus consultum*, which united the Hanse Towns, Lauemburg, &c. to the French empire by the right of the most strong. This new and important augmentation of territory could not fail to give uneasiness to Russia. Alexander manifested his dissatisfaction by prohibiting the importation of our agricultural produce and manufactures into Russia. Finally, as the continental system

had destroyed all trade by the ports of the Baltic, Russia showed herself more favourable to the English, and gradually reciprocal complaints of bad faith led to that war, whose unfortunate issue was styled by M. Talleyrand "the beginning of the end."

I have now to make the reader acquainted with an extraordinary demand made upon me by the emperor through the medium of M. de Champagny. In one of my first interviews with that minister, after my return to Paris, he thus addressed me:—"The emperor has entrusted me with a commission to you, which I am obliged to execute. 'When you see Bourrienne,' said the emperor, 'tell him I wish him to pay six millions into your chest to defray the expense of building the new office for foreign affairs.'" I was so astonished at this unfeeling and inconsiderate demand, that I was utterly unable to make any reply. This then was my recompense for having obtained money and supplies during my residence at Hamburg, to the extent of nearly ten millions, by which his treasury and army had profited in moments of difficulty! M. Champagny added, that the emperor did not wish to receive me. He asked what answer he should bear to his majesty. I still remained silent, and the minister again urged me to give an answer. "Well, then," said I, "tell him he may go to the devil." The minister naturally wished to obtain some variation from this laconic answer; but I would give no other; and I afterwards learned that M. de Champagny was compelled to communicate it to Napoleon. "Well," asked the latter, "have you seen Bourrienne?"—"Yes, sire."—"Did you tell him I wished him to pay six millions into your chest?"—"Yes, sire."—"And what did he say?"—"Sire, I dare not inform your majesty. . . ."—"What did he say? I insist upon knowing."—"Since you insist on my telling you, sire, M. de Bourrienne said your Majesty might go to the devil."—"Ah! ah! did he really say so?" The emperor then retired to the recess of a window, where he remained alone for seven or eight minutes, biting his nails, and doubtless giving free scope to his projects of vengeance. He then turned to the minister, and spoke to him of quite another subject. Bonaparte had so nursed himself in the idea of making me pay the six millions, that every time he passed the office for foreign affairs, he said to those who accompanied him, "Bourrienne must pay for that."

Though I was not admitted to the honour of sharing the splendour of the imperial court, yet I had the satisfaction to

find, that in spite of my disgrace, those of my old friends who were worth any thing, evinced the same regard for me as heretofore. I often saw Duroc, who snatched some moments from his more serious occupations to come and chat with me respecting all that had occurred since my secession from Bonaparte's cabinet. I shall not attempt to give a verbatim account of my conversations with Duroc, as I have only my memory to guide me; but I believe I shall not depart from the truth, in describing them as follows.

On his return from the last Austrian campaign, Napoleon, as I have already stated, proceeded to Fontainebleau, where he was joined by Josephine. Then, for the first time, the communication which had always existed between the apartments of the husband and wife was closed. Josephine was fully alive to the fatal prognostics which were to be deduced from this conjugal separation. Duroc informed me that she sent for him, and on entering her chamber he found her bathed in tears. "I am lost!" she exclaimed, in a tone of voice, the remembrance of which seemed sensibly to affect Duroc, even while relating the circumstance to me: "I am utterly lost! all is over now! You, Duroc, I know have always been my friend, and so has Rapp. It is not you who have persuaded him to part from me. This is the work of my enemies, Savary and Junot! But they are more his enemies than mine. And my poor Eugène! how will he be distressed, when he learns I am repudiated by an ungrateful man! . . . Yes, Duroc, I may truly call him ungrateful. . . ." Josephine sobbed bitterly while she thus addressed Duroc.

Before I was made acquainted with the singular demand which M. de Champagny was instructed to make to me, I requested Duroc to inquire of the emperor his reason for not wishing to see me. The grand marshal faithfully executed my commission, but he received only the following answer: "Do you think I have nothing better to do than to give Bourrienne an audience? that would indeed furnish gossip for Paris and Hamburg. He has always sided with the emigrants; he would be talking to me of past times; he was for Josephine!—My wife, Duroc, is near her confinement; I shall have a son, I am sure! . . . Bourrienne is not a man of the day: I have made giant strides since he left France; in short, I do not want to see him. He is a grumbler by nature; and you know, my dear Duroc, I do not like men of that sort."

I had not been more than a week in Paris, when Duroc.



related to me this speech of Napoleon. Rapp was not in France at the time, to my great regret. Much against his inclination he had been appointed to some duties connected with the imperial marriage ceremonies; but, shortly after, having given offence to Napoleon, by some observation relative to the Faubourg St. Germain, he had received orders to repair to Dantzic, of which place he had previously been governor.

The emperor's refusal to see me made my situation in Paris extremely delicate: and I was at first in doubt whether I might seek an interview with Josephine. Duroc, however, having assured me that Napoleon would have no objection to it, I wrote requesting permission to wait upon her. I received an answer the same day, and on the morrow I repaired to Malmaison. I was ushered into the tent drawing-room, where I found Josephine and Hortense. When I entered, Josephine stretched out her hand to me, saying, "Ah! my friend!" These words she pronounced with deep emotion, and tears prevented her from continuing. She threw herself on the ottoman on the left of the fire-place, and beckoned me to sit down beside her. Hortense stood by the fire-place, endeavouring to conceal her tears. Josephine took my hand, which she pressed in both her own; and, after a struggle to overcome her feelings, she said, "My dear Bourrienne, I have drained my cup of misfortune. He has cast me off! forsaken me! He conferred upon me the vain title of empress, only to render my fall the more marked. Ah! we judged him rightly! I knew the destiny that awaited me; for what would he not sacrifice to his ambition!" As she finished these words, one of Queen Hortense's ladies entered with a message to her; she stayed a few moments, apparently to recover from the emotion under which she was labouring, and then withdrew, so that I was left alone with Josephine. She seemed to wish for the relief of disclosing her sorrows, which I was curious to hear from her own lips; women have such a charming way of telling their distresses.

Josephine confirmed what Duroc had told me respecting the two apartments at Fontainebleau; then, coming to the period when Bonaparte had declared to her the necessity of a separation, she said: "My dear Bourrienne, during all the years you were with us, you know I made you the confidant of my thoughts, and made you acquainted with my sad forebodings. They are now cruelly fulfilled. I have finished my

character of wife. I have suffered all, and I am resigned ! . . . . What fortitude did it require latterly to endure my situation, when, though no longer his wife, I was obliged to seem so in the eyes of the world ! With what eyes do courtiers look upon a repudiated wife ! I was in a state of vague uncertainty worse than death, until the fatal day when he at length avowed to me what I had long before read in his looks ! On the 30th of November, 1809, we were dining together as usual, I had uttered not a word during dinner, and he had broken silence only to ask one of the servants what it was o'clock. As soon as Bonaparte had taken his coffee, he dismissed all the attendants, and I remained alone with him. I saw in the expression of his countenance what was passing in his mind ; and I knew that my hour was come. He stepped up to me, took my hand, pressed it to his heart, and after gazing at me for a few moments in silence, he uttered these fatal words : ' Josephine ! my dear Josephine ! You know how I have loved you ! . . . . To you, to you alone, I owe the only moments of happiness I have tasted in this world. But, Josephine, my destiny is not to be controlled by my will. My dearest affections must yield to the interests of France.' — ' Say no more,' I exclaimed, ' I understand you : I expected this, but the blow is not the less severe.' I had not power to say more, continued Josephine ; I know not what happened after. I seemed to lose my reason ; I became insensible, and when I recovered I found myself in my chamber. Your friend, Corvisart, and my poor daughter were with me. Bonaparte came to see me in the evening ; and oh ! Bourrienne, how can I describe to you what I felt at sight of him ; even the interest he evinced for me seemed an additional cruelty. Alas ! I had good reason to fear ever becoming an empress !"

I knew not what consolation to offer to Josephine ; and knowing, as I did, the natural gaiety of her character, I should have been surprised to find her grief so acute, after the lapse of a year, had I not been aware that there are certain chords, which, when struck, do not speedily cease to vibrate in the heart of a woman. I sincerely pitied Josephine, and among all the things I said to assuage her sorrow, the consolation to which she appeared most sensible, was the reprobation which public opinion had pronounced on Bonaparte's divorce, and on this subject I said nothing but the truth, for Josephine was generally beloved. I reminded her of a prediction I had made under happier circumstances, viz., on the day when she

came to visit us in our little house at Ruel : "My dear friend," said she, "I have not forgotten it, and I have often thought of all you then said. For my part, I knew he was lost from the day he made himself emperor. Adieu ! Bourrienne, come and see me soon again ; come often, for we have a great deal to talk about, you know how happy I always am to see you." Such was, to the best of my recollection, what passed at my first interview with Josephine, after my return from Hamburg.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

Arrest of La Sahla—My visit to him—His account of himself, and explanation of the reasons that urged him to attempt the life of Napoleon—His confinement at Vincennes—Subsequent history of La Sahla—His second journey to France—Detonating powder—Plot hatched against me by the Prince of Eckmühl—Friendly offices of the Duke de Rovigo—Bugbears of the police.

IN describing the attempt on the life of Napoleon at Schœnbrunn, I mentioned that I should have to relate other facts of the same kind. One of these I have now to notice.

I had been in Paris about two months when young La Sahla, who arrived on the 16th of February, 1811, was arrested on the Tuesday following, on suspicion of having come from Saxony to attempt the life of the emperor. La Sahla informed the Duke de Rovigo, then minister of the police, that he wished to see me, assigning, as a reason for this, the reputation I had left behind me in Germany. The emperor, I presume, had no objection to the interview, for I received an invitation to visit the prisoner. I accordingly repaired to the supernumerary-office of the minister of the police, in the Rue des Saint-Pères, where I was introduced to a young man between seventeen and eighteen years of age. M. Desmarets was with him. La Sahla received me very politely, and said he wished to speak with me. I expressed a wish to be left alone with him, and declared that I would immediately retire, if there was any intention of converting the interview into a judicial interrogatory. Young La Sahla also declared, that he wished to speak with me in private. M. Desmarets then immediately withdrew.

After discoursing a little with La Sahla respecting the university of Leipzig, where he had studied, the different professors who had died since I was there, and those by whom they had been succeeded, I turned the conversation on his journey

to Paris. "How," said I, "could you, who are a member of a family of rank, and who have received an excellent education, conceive the design which, it is said, has brought you to Paris? Speak to me without fear or reserve; and tell me what have been the events of your past life." In answer to these questions, La Sahla related the following particulars. His manner was cool and collected; but his occasional fits of enthusiasm, when he alluded to Germany, involuntarily excited my interest. "About fifteen months ago," said he, "I was studying at the University of Leipzig. I associated but little with my fellow-students, because their dissipated habits did not suit my taste, and because, moreover, I was frequently ill (the young man's appearance, indeed, denoted infirm health). I applied myself, particularly, to the study of law, history, and the oriental languages. As my health prevented me from attending the public courses of lectures, I engaged the professors to come to me. My father died about nine years ago. My mother, though not rich, is in easy circumstances: she allowed me 1,300 German crowns per year, and I received a further allowance from some other relatives. I began to hate Napoleon, after having heard a sermon by M. Reinhard, the Lutheran preacher, at Dresden. In that sermon, which was delivered after the battle of Jena, Napoleon, without being precisely named, was clearly alluded to, and the preacher compared him to Nero. The miseries which Germany suffered after the battle of Jena, afflicted me more and more; and this state of my feelings was increased by a perusal of the letter of Villers to Madame Fanny Beauharnais, upon the taking of Lubeck. While I was at Leipzig, I heard mention of the conscription, and of the attempt of Staps (here his countenance betrayed a wildness of expression), and of the suppression of the states of my country. I saw the English merchandize burned. This act of stupid tyranny affected me violently. When I saw trade annihilated, and desolation and despair spreading every where, I determined to kill Bonaparte, who was the author of all these evils. I was not to have left Leipzig until six months later than I did. But I reflected that, if I executed my project before the delivery of the empress, I should be the more secure of success; for I thought, if the empress should present Napoleon with a son, the French would probably be more attached to his dynasty; and a revolution in the empire could not be so positively counted upon. I therefore hurried my departure, and practised firing pistols, at which I became very expert. I also

turned Catholic, because the pope having excommunicated Napoleon, it became a meritorious act in the eyes of God to kill him; and besides I know that, by turning Catholic, I should meet with more support amongst the Catholics in general. A second motive induced me to embrace this religion, namely, I had observed that the countries in which it prevailed were more united than others, and not so easily influenced by their neighbours. I eagerly read the book entitled 'Theobald's Goilhraht' which treats of this subject (the author is an illuminato), and the writings of John Muller, on the freedom of Germany. I made several extracts from these works, which will be found in my desk at Leipzig. Six weeks before my departure, I devoted myself to dissipation and pleasure, in order to deceive my comrades, and to make them suppose a motive for my departure, without the authority of my friends."

After these first confessions of La Sahla, I could not help feeling wonder, not unmixed with horror, that such calculations should have entered into so young a mind. How, indeed, could I fail to be struck with the resemblance to the first Brutus, who feigned idiotcy to free Rome from the yoke of the Tarquins, as La Sahla had affected dissipation to liberate Germany from the yoke of Napoleon. I asked him what he had done from the moment when he had resolved to leave Germany, and proceed to Paris. He replied, "On the eve of my departure for Frankfort, I sent my servant to Dresden, that I might have no embarrassment during my journey. He was the bearer of a letter to my uncle. Unfortunately he could not obtain a conveyance, and he returned home, where he found me making preparations for a journey, and evidently a long one. I believe it was this man who betrayed me. However, at that moment I felt no uneasiness, because I had stated that I was only going to Mentz to be confirmed. I arrived in Paris without being discovered. I had five pistols of different sizes."

"How," inquired I, "did you employ yourself from the period of your arrival in Paris, until you were arrested?" He answered: "From the 16th of February, when I arrived, I spent five hours every day at the Tuileries. I dined at Very's. Last Wednesday I saw the emperor walking in a saloon looking to the garden. The window was open, and he sometimes approached it. I thought of firing at him; but a person passing, to whom I expressed a wish to have a nearer view of Napoleon, having told me that he would probably come down

into the garden, I waited. But the emperor did not appear. I reckoned on executing my project in different ways, according to circumstances: when he should be stepping into his carriage; or in the gardens of the Tuileries, where he sometimes walks with Duroc; or at mass; or at the Théâtre Français. The distance at which I should be from him at chapel presented no obstacle, because it would not be so great as that which separated his box from the opposite one at the Théâtre Français. I had measured it, and it did not exceed thirty paces. I had a pistol, with which I could easily have hit my mark at that distance. It was at the theatre that I had the strongest expectation of effecting my object. By resting my hand on the front of the box, and firing twice, I could not possibly miss him. I saw a pistol with four barrels, at the Palais Royal; but it did not appear to me sufficiently convenient and sure. I was not deceived as to the fate which awaited me. I knew I should be massacred on the spot. But what did I care for life! If Staps had despised it as I do, Napoleon would not now be in existence, for he had the good fortune to get near him; but he trembled. I do not fear death. I firmly believe in predestination. If I am doomed to die in two days, nothing can save me: if I am not fated to die in that time, my life is secure.\* I was always aware that the success of my undertaking was not infallible. I have read that twenty-three attempts were made to assassinate Henry IV., and that the twenty-fourth was successful. And yet Henry IV. was beloved, and did not adopt precautions. Napoleon, on the contrary, is much on his guard, and he is hated. We may, therefore, suppose that forty attempts must be made on his life before one can succeed. It may be thought that this consideration ought to have deterred me, but no. For, if his life has been attempted six times before, I have hazarded the seventh. That is one chance more for those who may follow me, and one less for Napoleon. This is so much gained. What signifies the life of a man in comparison with the great results which would arise from the emperor's death!"—I asked whether he had any accomplices. To which he replied:—"None. I communicated my design to no one; but if it please God, the bond of virtue which unites the youth of Germany in the same love of liberty, will raise up successors to me. I do not expect any from Saxony: the students of Leipzig are base and disso-

\* What a singular coincidence between this reasoning and that of El Coraim, the Sheriff of Alexandria. (See vol. i. of these Memoirs.)

lute; but from Westphalia, where the people are unhappy and discontented; from the Hanse Towns; from Italy, and Spain, some one must succeed in the end.”—“Were you not deterred,” said I, “by the thought of the grief into which your rash act would plunge your family?”—“Family considerations,” he replied, “must yield to the great interests of the liberty of one’s country. I know that my mother and sister will be reduced to despair; but what signify women’s tears when the deliverance of Germany is to be achieved. By Napoleon’s death Germany would recover her laws and sovereigns—the hateful French dominion would cease—the code Napoleon would be no longer the law of her people. All this must happen, because, if we succeed in killing Napoleon, and we will succeed, Bernadotte, who is much beloved by the French, will be recalled from Sweden, and he will evacuate Germany, or if he be not recalled, the marshals will dispute for the empire, and we shall see the history of Alexander’s successors renewed. Then Germany will be free and happy; but as long as France is united and tranquil Germany will be oppressed.

“This was my design. I repeat that no private considerations influenced me, that I have communicated my secret to no one and that I have no accomplices. I thought of neither mother, sister, nor relatives, nobility, or privileges. I am bent on one thing, the deliverance of Germany from the French yoke. To this great idea I have sacrificed every thing. My attempt failed. I love life; but do not fear death; and if I were told that I must die in five minutes, I should receive the intelligence with indifference.”

Such was the language which this young man held. I was particularly struck with his last observation, “I love life, but do not fear death.” It was at once characteristic of the love of life peculiar to youth, and of that calm courage, superior to the vapouring of those who boast of being able to meet death without regret.

I wrote down La Sahla’s answers to my interrogatories, and when I afterwards read them to him he declared them to be correct. As may well be supposed, my conversation with the young man, whose uncle was, I believe, minister to the King of Saxony, interested me greatly in his behalf; I determined if possible, to save La Sahla, and I succeeded. I proceeded immediately to the Duke de Rovigo, and I easily convinced him, that under the circumstances of the case, it was highly important to make it be believed that the young man was insane. I observed, that if he were brought before a court,



he would repeat all that he had stated to me, and probably enter into still further disclosures, which might instigate fresh attempts at assassination. Perhaps an avenger of La Sahla might rise up amongst the students of Leipzig. These reasons, together with others, founded on the singular confession of the young fanatic, had the success I hoped for. The emperor afterwards acknowledged the prudent course which had been adopted respecting La Sahla, when speaking at St. Helena of the conspiracies against his life, he said, "I carefully concealed all that I could." La Sahla's was certainly one of those to which he had reason to congratulate himself on not having given unnecessary publicity.

I will now state all that has since come to my knowledge respecting the fate of young La Sahla. In conformity with my advice, he was sent to Vincennes, where he remained until the end of March, 1814. He was then removed to the castle of Saumur, from which he was liberated at the beginning of April. I had heard nothing of him for three years, when one day, shortly after the restoration, whilst sitting at breakfast with my family, at my house in the Rue Hauteville, I heard an extraordinary noise in the antechamber, and before I had time to ascertain its cause, I found myself in the arms of a young man, who embraced me with extraordinary ardour. It was La Sahla. He was in a transport of gratitude and joy at his liberation, and at the accomplishment of the events which he had wished to accelerate by assassination. La Sahla returned to Saxony, and I saw no more of him; but while I was in Hamburg in 1815, whither I was sent by Louis XVIII., I learned, that on the 5th of June a violent explosion was heard in the chamber of representatives, which was at first supposed to be a clap of thunder, but was soon ascertained to have been occasioned by a young Saxon having fallen with a packet of detonating powder in his pocket.

On receiving this intelligence, I imagined, I know not why, that this young Saxon was La Sahla, and that he had probably intended to blow up Napoleon and even the legislative body; but I have since ascertained that I was under a mistake as to his intentions. My knowledge of La Sahla's candour, induces me to believe the truth of his declarations to the police; and if there be any inaccuracies in the report of those declarations, I do not hesitate to attribute them to the police itself, of which Fouché was the head at the period in question. The following is the account of the event above mentioned, which appears to be accurate, with the exception of the conclusion:

"During the sitting of the chamber of representatives, about half-past one o'clock, a violent explosion took place, which was at first supposed to be a clap of thunder. The following are the particulars connected with the circumstance: A Saxon, about twenty-eight years of age, who is said to belong to a family of distinction, had in his coat-pocket about four ounces of detonating powder. He had come in a coach to the chamber of the legislative body. He entered the hall, but left it soon after, and at the corner of the Rue de Burgogne his foot slipped, and he fell upon the packet of detonating powder. A violent explosion was the consequence: his coat and pantaloons were torn, and himself dreadfully mutilated. None of the passers by were hurt. He was conveyed in this state to the prefecture of the police, where he was interrogated. He described himself to be Baron La Sahla, and is, we are told, of a rich and distinguished family.

"Some years since, he came to France, with the intention of assassinating or poisoning the emperor. He was arrested and confined at first in the fortress of Vincennes, and afterwards removed to the castle of Saumur. Shortly after the entrance of the allies into Paris he was liberated, and returned to his own country. The emperor having reascended the throne, he determined to return to France. The cause of his fresh arrest has been stated. The following is his defence: He does not deny having formerly entertained the design of killing the emperor, whom he regarded as the oppressor of Germany; but that oppression having ceased, his feelings of hatred towards the author have also disappeared. The spoliations committed upon Saxony by the congress, and particularly by the Prussians, exasperated him greatly against the latter; and when he heard of the emperor's landing, and the fortunate issue of his enterprise, he beheld in him, henceforth, the liberator of his unfortunate country, and he wished to render him all the service in his power. He therefore determined to return to France. He requested an audience of M. Hardenberg, and having obtained it, he pretended to be more than ever bent on his former plan of assassinating Napoleon. M. Hardenberg, after praising his good intentions, referred him to Marshal Blucher, whom he requested to furnish him with the means of proceeding to France. Marshal Blucher's head-quarters were then at Namur, and the chief officer of his staff, who gave La Sahla a passport, advised him, with a view of facilitating his enterprise, to carry with him some detonating powder, and mentioned a shopkeeper at Namur of whom he could procure it. In order to avoid exciting suspicion, La Sahla went himself to the dealer, and purchased only four ounces of the fulminating powder. He then proceeded to France, and on his arrival in Paris, he instantly communicated to the government all the information he had acquired respecting the forces of the allies, their plans, their resources, &c. By endeavouring to serve France he believed

that he was serving his own country. The police was satisfied that M. de La Sahla had communicated to the government some very valuable details, both political and military. He also informed the war minister that he had brought with him a little packet of detonating powder, and offered, it is said, to give it up; but it seems that no one was inclined to receive the dangerous deposit. Being asked the reason why he carried the powder about him, he replied that he did not wish to have it at the hotel where he lodged, for fear that any person should touch it, and occasion some accident. He is further said to have given M. Metternich proofs that M. Stein, the Prussian minister, had urged him to poison M. de Mongelas, the Bavarian minister, and that M. Metternich appeared indignant and horror-struck at M. Stein's conduct. If these declarations be true, it must be acknowledged that some members of the Prussian cabinet then resorted to diplomatic measures of a very extraordinary nature."

There is an evident error in the above report respecting the age of M. La Sahla, who, in 1815, could not be more than twenty-three. It is the latter part of the report which induced me to observe above, that if there were any inaccuracies in the statement, they were more likely to proceed from Fouché's police, than the false representations of young La Sahla. It is difficult to give credit without proof to such accusations. However, I decide nothing; but I consider it my duty to express doubts of the truth of these charges brought against Prussian ministers, of whom the Prince of Wittgenstein, a man of undoubted honour, has always spoken to me in the best of terms.

There is nothing to prove that La Sahla returned to France the second time, with the same intentions as before. This project, however, is a mystery to me, and his detonating powder gives rise to many conjectures.\*

\* This account of La Sahla produced a warm remonstrance from Baron Stein, which appeared first in the Prussian State Gazette, and was afterwards copied into many other papers. In the baron's reply, he declares that he never saw La Sahla until that person visited him in Paris, in 1814. The baron was not then a Prussian minister, having been dismissed by Napoleon, in 1808, from that cabinet of which he never afterwards was a member. He asks, what motive could he have for poisoning Count Mongelas, and what possible influence could such a crime have on the political questions which were agitated in the autumn of 1814 and the spring of 1815? A complete copy of the baron's vindication was annexed to the German translation of Bourrienne's Memoirs. Baron Gagern applied to Prince Metternich for a declaration from him on the subject, and received in return the following letter:

"The passage in M. de Bourrienne's Memoirs, which has attracted Baron Stein's attention, produced a similar effect on me. I never knew

I had scarcely left Hamburg, when the Prince of Eckmühl was appointed governor-general of that place, on the union of the Hanse Towns with the empire. From that period I was constantly occupied in contending against the persecutions and denunciations which he racked his imagination to invent. I cannot help attributing to those persecutions the emperor's coolness towards me on my arrival in Paris. But as Davoust's calumnies were devoid of proof, he resorted to a scheme by which a certain appearance of probability might supply the place of truth. When I arrived in Paris, at the commencement of 1811, I was informed by an excellent friend I had left at Hamburg, M. Bouvier, an emigrant, and one of the hostages of Louis XVI., that in a few days I would receive a letter which would compromise me, and likewise M. de Talleyrand and General Rapp. I had never had any connection, on matters of business, with either of those individuals, for whom I entertained the most sincere attachment. They, like myself, were not in the good graces of Marshal Davoust, who could not pardon the one for his incontestable superiority of talent, and the other for his blunt honesty.\* On the receipt of M. Bouvier's letter, I carried it to the Duke de Rovigo, whose situation made him perfectly aware of the low intrigues which had been carried on against me since I had left Hamburg, by him whose ambition aspired to the viceroyalty of Poland. On

any individual called La Sahla, either personally or by name. Never, under any name whatever, did any person ever come to me, and attribute to Baron Stein a purpose having the slightest relation to that stated in the passage in question. I honour the indignation which Baron Stein feels. An accusation which wounds honour may exist, and be considered true, while it remains uncontradicted, by the greater part of readers, who always have a predisposition to credulity. They ought to be undeceived; and the necessity for contradiction is the more pressing, when an error appears in a work like M. de Bourrienne's, which is stamped with a character entirely different from the multitude of wretched publications which daily appear."

Baron Gagern afterwards corresponded with Bourrienne, who stated that he could not make the desired correction until he published a third edition. This proposal, however, was not satisfactory to Baron Stein.—E. Ed.

\* The son of Marshal Davoust has published a long refutation of the charges by Bourrienne against his father. He positively denies that his father cherished an enmity to Bourrienne in consequence of the opinion the latter says he expressed of the former to the first consul, and endeavours to discredit the statement altogether. With respect to the affairs of Hamburg he quotes several letters from Napoleon to his father, containing orders to inquire into the conduct of Bourrienne. In these letters the emperor says, that Bourrienne had made an immense fortune by countervailing his orders. As to the letter sent from Hamburg to Paris, mentioned in the text, it is asserted, that the marshal knew nothing of it.—(E. Ed.)

that, as on many other similar occasions, the Duke de Rovigo advocated my cause with Napoleon. We agreed that it would be best to await the arrival of the letter which M. Bouvier had announced. Three weeks elapsed, and the letter did not appear. The Duke de Rovigo, therefore, told me that I must have been misinformed. However, I was certain that M. Bouvier would not have sent me the information on slight grounds, and I therefore supposed that the project had only been delayed. I was not wrong in my conjecture, for at length the letter arrived. To what a depth of infamy men can descend ! The letter was from a man whom I had known at Hamburg ; whom I had obliged ; whom I had employed as a spy. His epistle was a miracle of impudence. After relating some extraordinary transactions which he said had taken place between us, and which all bore the stamp of falsehood, he requested me to send him, by return of post, the sum of sixty thousand francs, on account of what I had promised him, for some business he executed in England, by the direction of M. de Talleyrand, General Rapp, and myself. Such miserable wretches are often caught in the snares they spread for others. This was the case in the present instance ; for the fellow had committed the blunder of fixing upon the year 1802, as the period of this pretended business in England ; that is to say, two years before my appointment as minister plenipotentiary to the Hanse Towns. This anachronism was not the only one I discovered in the letter.

I took a copy of the letter, and immediately carried the original to the Duke de Rovigo, as had been agreed between us. When I waited on the minister, he was just preparing to go to the emperor. He took with him the letter which I brought, and also the letter which announced its arrival. As the Duke de Rovigo entered the audience-chamber, Napoleon advanced to meet him, and apostrophized him thus : " Well, I have learned fine things of your Bourrienne, whom you are always defending." The fact was, the emperor had already received a copy of the letter, which had been opened at the Hamburg post-office. The Duke de Rovigo told the emperor. that he had long known what his majesty had communicated to him. He then entered into a full explanation of the intrigue, of which it was wished to render me the victim, and proved to him the more easily the falsehood of my accusers, by reminding him that in 1802 I was not in Hamburg, but was still in his service at home.

It may be supposed, that I was too much interested in knowing what had passed at the Tuileries not to return to the Duke de Rovigo the same day. I learned from him the particulars which I have already related. He added, that he had observed to the emperor that there was no connection between Rapp and M. de Talleyrand which could warrant the suspicion of their being concerned in the affair in question. "When the emperor saw the matter in its true light," said Savary, "when I proved to him the palpable existence of the odious machination, he could not find terms to express his indignation. 'What baseness, what horrible villany!' he exclaimed, and gave me orders to arrest and bring to Paris the infamous writer of the letter, and you may rely upon it, his orders shall be promptly obeyed." Savary, as he had said, instantly despatched orders for the arrest of the writer, whom he directed to be sent to France. On his arrival, he was interrogated respecting the letter. He declared that he had written it at the instigation, and to the dictation, of Marshal Davoust, for doing which he received a small sum of money as a reward. He also confessed that, when the letter was put into the post, the Prince of Eckmühl ordered the director of the post to open it, take a copy, then seal it again and send it to its address; that is to say, to me, and the copy to the emperor. The writer of the letter was banished to Marseilles, or to the Island of Hières; but the individual who dictated it continued a marshal, a prince, and a governor-general, and still looked forward to the viceroyalty of Poland! Such was the distributive justice of the empire; and Davoust continued his endeavours to revenge himself by other calumnies for my not having considered him a man of talent. I must do the Duke de Rovigo the justice to say, that though his fidelity to Napoleon was, as it always had been, boundless, yet whilst he executed the emperor's orders, he endeavoured to make him acquainted with the truth, as was proved by his conduct in the case I have just mentioned. He was much distressed by the sort of terror which his appointment had excited in the public, and he acknowledged to me that he intended to restore confidence by a more mild system than that of his predecessor. I had observed formerly, that Savary did not coincide in the opinion I had always entertained of Fouché; but when once the Duke de Rovigo endeavoured to penetrate the labyrinth of police, counter-police, inspections and hierarchies of spying, he found they were all bugbears which Fouché had created to

alarm the emperor, as gardeners put up scarecrows among the fruit-trees, to frighten away the sparrows. Thus, thanks to the artifices of Fouché, the eagle was frightened as easily as the sparrows, until the period when the emperor, convinced that Fouché was maintaining a correspondence with England, through the agency of Ouvrard, dismissed him.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

**M. Czernischeff**—Dissimulation of Napoleon—Napoleon and Alexander—Josephine's foresight respecting the affairs of Spain—My visits to Malmaison—Grief of Josephine—Tears and the toilet—Vast extent of the empire—List of persons condemned to death and banishment in Piedmont—Observation of Alfieri respecting the Spaniards—Success in Spain—Check of Masséna in Portugal—Money lavished by the English—Bertrand sent to Illyria, and Marmont to Portugal—Situation of the French army—Assembling of the Cortès—Europe sacrificed to the continental system—Conversation with Murat in the Champs-Élysées.

SINCE my return to France, I had heard much of the intrigues of M. Czernischeff, an aide-de-camp of the Emperor of Russia, who, under the pretext of being frequently sent to compliment Napoleon, on the part of the Emperor Alexander, filled, in fact, the office of a spy. The conduct of Napoleon, with regard to M. Czernischeff, at that period, struck me as singular; especially after the intelligence, which, before my departure from Hamburg, I had transmitted to him, respecting the dissatisfaction of Russia, and her hostile inclinations. It is therefore clear to me, that Bonaparte was well aware of the real object of M. Czernischeff's mission, and that, if he appeared to give credit to the increasing professions of his friendship, it was only because he still wished, as he formerly did, that Russia might so far commit herself as to afford him a fair pretext for the commencement of hostilities in the north.

M. Czernischeff first arrived in Paris shortly after the interview at Erfurt, and after that period was almost constantly on the road between Paris and St. Petersburg; it has been computed, that in the space of less than four years, he travelled more than ten thousand leagues. For a long time, his frequent journeyings excited no surmises; but while I was in Paris, Savary began to entertain suspicions, the correctness of which it was not difficult to ascertain, so formidable was still



the system of espionage, notwithstanding the precaution taken by Fouché, to conceal from his successor the names of his most efficient spies. It was known that M. Czernischeff was looking out for a professor of mathematics; doubtless, to disguise the real motives for his stay in Paris, by veiling them under the desire of studying the sciences. The confidant of Alexander had applied to a professor, connected with a public office; and from that time all the steps of M. Czernischeff were known to the police. It was discovered that he was less anxious to question his instructor respecting the equations of a degree, or the value of unknown quantities, than to gain all the information he could in regard to the different branches of the administration, and particularly the department of war. It happened that the professor knew some individuals employed in the public offices, who furnished him with intelligence, which he in turn communicated to M. Czernischeff, but not without making a report of it to the police; according to custom, instead of putting an end to this intrigue at once, it was suffered fully to develop itself. Napoleon was informed of what was going on, and in this instance gave a new proof of his being an adept in the art of dissimulation; for, instead of testifying any displeasure against M. Czernischeff, he continued to receive him with the same marks of favour which he had shown to him during his former missions to Paris. Being, nevertheless, desirous to get rid of him, without evincing a suspicion that his clandestine proceedings had been discovered, he intrusted him with a friendly letter to his brother of Russia; but Alexander was in such haste to reply to the flattering missive of his brother of France, that M. Czernischeff was hurried back to Paris, having scarcely been suffered to enter the gates of St. Petersburg. I believe I am correct in the idea, that Napoleon was not really displeased at the intrigues of M. Czernischeff, from the supposition that they afforded an indication of the hostile intentions of Russia towards France; for, whatever he might say on this subject to his confidants, what reliance can we place on the man who formed the camp of Boulogne, without the most distant intention of attempting a descent upon England, and who had deceived the whole world respecting that important affair, without taking any one into his own confidence?

During the period of my stay in Paris, the war with Spain and Portugal occupied much of the public attention; and it proved, in the end, an enterprise upon which the intuition of Josephine had not deceived her. In general, she intermeddled

little with political affairs: in the first place, because her doing so would have given offence to Napoleon; and next, because her natural frivolity led her to give a preference to lighter pursuits. But I may safely affirm, that she was endowed with an instinct so perfect, as seldom to be deceived respecting the good or evil tendency of any measure which Napoleon engaged in; and I remember she told me, that when informed of the intention of the emperor to bestow the throne of Spain on Joseph, she was seized with a feeling of indescribable alarm. It would be difficult to define that instinctive feeling which leads us to foresee the future; but it is a fact, that Josephine was endowed with this faculty in a more perfect degree than any other person I have ever known; and to her it was a fatal gift, for she suffered at the same time under the weight of present and future misfortune.

I often visited her at Malmaison, as Duroc assured me that the emperor had no objection to my doing so; yet he must have been fully aware, that when Josephine and I were in confidential conversation, he would not always be mentioned in terms of unqualified eulogy; and in truth, his first friend and his first wife, might well be excused for sometimes commingling their complaints.

Though more than a twelvemonth had elapsed since the divorce, grief still preyed on the heart of Josephine. "You cannot conceive, my friend," she often said to me, "all the torments that I have suffered since that fatal day! I cannot imagine how I survived it. You cannot figure to yourself the agony I endure on seeing every where descriptions of fêtes. And the first time he came to visit me, after his marriage, what a meeting! How many tears I shed! The days on which he comes, are to me days of misery, for he spares me not. How cruel to speak of his expected heir. Bourrienne, you cannot conceive how heart-rending all this is to me! Better, far better, to be exiled a thousand leagues from hence! However," added Josephine, "a few friends still remain faithful in my changed fortune; and that is now the only thing which affords me even temporary consolation." The truth is that she was extremely unhappy, and the most acceptable consolation her friends could offer her was to weep with her. Yet such was still Josephine's passion for dress, that after having wept for a quarter of an hour, she would dry her tears, to give audience to milliners and jewellers. The sight of a new hat would call forth all Josephine's feminine love of finery. One day, I remember, that taking advantage of the momentary serenity

occasioned by an ample display of sparkling gewgaws, I congratulated her upon the happy influence they exercised over her spirits, when she said, "My dear friend, I ought, indeed, to be indifferent to all this ; but it is a habit." Josephine might have added, that it was also an occupation ; for it would be no exaggeration to say that if the time she wasted in tears and at her toilet, had been subtracted from her life, its duration would have been considerably shortened.

The vast extent of the French empire now presented a spectacle, which resembled rather the dominion of the Romans, and the conquests of Charlemagne, than the usual form and political changes of modern Europe. In fact, for nearly two centuries, until the period of the revolution, and particularly until the elevation of Napoleon, no remarkable changes had taken place in the boundaries of European states, if we except the partition of Poland, when two of the co-partitioners committed the error of turning the eyes of Russia towards the west ! Under Napoleon, every thing was overturned with astonishing rapidity ! customs, manners, laws, were superseded by new customs, new manners, and new laws, imposed by force, and forming a heterogeneous whole, which could not fail to dissolve, as soon as the influence of the power which had created it should cease to operate. Such was the state of Italy, that I have been informed by an individual worthy of credit, that if the army of Prince Eugène, instead of being victorious, had been beaten on the Piava, a deeply organized revolution would have broken out in Piedmont, and even in the kingdom of Italy, where, nevertheless, the majority of the people fully appreciated the excellent qualities of Eugène. I have been also credibly informed that lists were in readiness, designating those of the French who were to be put to death, as well as those by whom the severe orders of the imperial government had been mitigated, and who were only to be banished. In fact, revolt was as natural to the Italians, as submission to the Germans, and as the fury of despair to the Spanish nation. On this subject I may cite an observation contained in one of the works of Alfieri, published fifteen years before the Spanish war. Taking a cursory view of the different European nations, he regarded the Spaniards as the only people possessed of "sufficient energy to struggle against foreign usurpation." Had I still been near the person of Napoleon, I would most assuredly have resorted to an innocent artifice, which I had several times employed, and placed the work of Alfieri on his table, open at the page I wished him to

read. Alfieri's opinion of the Spanish people was in the end fully verified; and I confess I cannot think without shuddering of the torrents of blood which inundated the Peninsula; and for what? to make Joseph Bonaparte a king!

The commencement of 1811 was sufficiently favourable to the French arms in Spain; but towards the beginning of March, the aspect of affairs changed. The Duke of Belluno, notwithstanding the valour of his troops, was unsuccessful at Chiclana; and from that day the French army could not make head against the combined forces of England and Portugal. Even Masséna, notwithstanding the title of Prince of Esslingen, which he had won under the walls of Vienna, was no longer the favourite child of victory as he had been at Zurich.

Having mentioned Masséna, I may embrace this occasion to declare that he did not favour the change of the French government on the foundation of the empire. Masséna loved two things, glory, and money; but as to what is termed honours, he only valued those which resulted from the command of an army; and his recollections all bound him to the republic, because the republic recalled to his mind the most brilliant and glorious events of his military career. He was, besides, among the number of the marshals who wished to see a limit to the ambition of Bonaparte; and he had assuredly done enough, since the commencement of the wars of the republic, to be permitted to enjoy some repose, which his health at that period required. What could he achieve against the English in Portugal? The combined forces of England and Portugal daily augmented, while ours diminished. No efforts were spared by England to gain a superiority in the great struggle in which she was engaged; as her money was lavished profusely, her troops paid well wherever they went, and abundantly supplied with ammunition and provisions, the French army was compelled, though far from possessing such ample means, to purchase at the same high rate, in order to keep the natives from joining the English party. But even this did not prevent numerous partial insurrections in different parts, which rendered all communication with France extremely difficult. Armed bands continually carried off our dispersed soldiers; and the presence of the British troops, supported by the money they spent in the country, excited the inhabitants against us; for it is impossible to suppose that, unsupported by the English, Portugal could have held out a single moment against France. But battles, bad weather,

and even want, had so reduced the French force, that it was absolutely necessary our troops should repose, when their enterprises could lead to no results. In this state of things Masséna was recalled, because his health was so materially injured as to render it impossible for him to exert sufficient activity to restore the army to a respectable footing.

Under these circumstances, Bonaparte sent Bertrand into Illyria to supersede Marmont, who was ordered in his turn to relieve Masséna, and take the command of the French army in Portugal. Marmont, on assuming the command, found the troops in a deplorable state. The difficulty of procuring provisions was extreme, and the means he was compelled to employ for that purpose greatly heightened the evil; at the same time insubordination and want of discipline prevailed to such an alarming degree, that it would be as difficult as painful to depict the situation of our army at this period. Marmont by his steady conduct fortunately succeeded in correcting the disorders which prevailed, and very soon found himself at the head of a well-organized army, amounting to thirty thousand infantry, with forty pieces of artillery; but he had only a very small body of cavalry, and those ill-mounted.

Affairs in Spain at the commencement of 1811, exhibited an aspect not very different from those of Portugal. At first we were uniformly successful, but our advantages were so dearly purchased that the ultimate issue of this struggle might easily have been foreseen, because when a people fight for their homes and their liberties, the invading army must gradually diminish, while at the same time the armed population, emboldened by success, increases in a still more marked progression. Insurrection was now regarded by the Spaniards as a holy and sacred duty, to which the recent meetings of the Cortès in the Isle of Leon, had given, as it were, a legitimate character, since Spain found again, in the remembrance of her ancient privileges, at least the shadow of a government—a centre around which the defenders of the soil of the Peninsula could rally.

The continental system was the cause, if not of the eventual fall, at least of the rapid fall of Napoleon. This cannot be doubted, if we consider for a moment the brilliant situation of the empire in 1811, and the effect simultaneously produced throughout Europe, by that system which undermined the most powerful throne which ever existed. It was the continental system that Napoleon upheld in Spain; for he had

persuaded himself that this system rigorously enforced, would strike a death-blow to the commerce of England; and Duroc besides informed me of a circumstance which is of great weight in this question. Napoleon, one day, said to him, "I am no longer anxious that Joseph should be King of Spain; and he himself is indifferent about it. I would give the crown to the first comer, who would shut his ports against the English."

Murat had come to Paris on the occasion of the empress's accouchement, and I saw him several times during his stay, for we had always been on the best terms; and I must do him the justice to say, that he never assumed the king but to his courtiers, and those who had known him only as a monarch. Eight or ten days after the birth of the King of Rome, as I was one morning walking in the Champs-Élysées, I met Murat. He was alone, and dressed in plain clothes. We were exactly opposite the gardens of his sister-in-law, the Princess Borghese. "Well, Bourrienne," said Murat, after we had exchanged the usual courtesies, "well, what are you about now?" I informed him how I had been treated by Napoleon; who, that I might not be in Hamburg when the decree of union arrived there, had recalled me to Paris under a show of confidence. I think I still see the handsome and expressive countenance of Joachim when having addressed him by the titles of Sire and your Majesty, he said to me, "Pshaw! Bourrienne, are we not old comrades? The emperor has treated you unjustly! and to whom has he not been unjust? His displeasure is preferable to his favour, which costs so dear! He says that he made us kings! but did we not make him emperor! To you, my friend, whom I have known long and intimately, I can make my profession of faith. My sword, my blood, my life, belong to the emperor. When he calls me to the field to combat his enemies, and the enemies of France, I am no longer a king, I resume the rank of a marshal of the empire; but let him require no more. At Naples I will be King of Naples, and I will not sacrifice to his false calculations, the life, the wellbeing, and the interests of my subjects. Let him not imagine that he can treat me as he has treated Louis! For I am ready to defend, even against him, if it must be so, the rights of the people, over whom he has appointed me to rule. Am I then an advanced-guard king?" These last words appeared to me peculiarly appropriate in the mouth of Murat, who had always served in

the advanced guard of our armies, and which I thought expressed in a very happy manner the similarity of his situation as a king and as a soldier.

I walked with Murat about half an hour. In the course of our conversation, he informed me that his greatest cause of complaint against the emperor was, his having first set him forward, and then abandoned him. "Before I arrived in Naples," continued he, "it was intimated to me that there was a design of assassinating me. What did I do? I entered that city alone, at midnight, in an open carriage, for I would rather have been assassinated at once, than have lived in the constant fear of being so. I afterwards made a descent on the isle of Ischia, which succeeded. I attempted one against Sicily, and am certain it would have also been successful, had the emperor fulfilled his promise of sending the Toulon fleet to second my operations; but he issued contrary orders: *he enacted Mazarin, and wished me to play the part of the adventurous Duke of Guise.* But I see his designs. Now that he has a son on whom he has bestowed the title of King of Rome, he merely wishes the crown of Naples to be considered as a deposit in my hands. He regards Naples as a future annexation to the kingdom of Rome, to which I foresee it is his design to unite the whole of Italy. But let him not urge me too far, for I will oppose him, and conquer, or perish in the attempt."

I had the discretion not to inform Murat, how correctly he had devined the plans of the emperor, and his projects as to Italy; but in regard to the continental system, which, perhaps, the reader will be inclined to call my great battle-horse, I spoke of it as I had done to the Prince of Sweden, and I perceived that he was fully disposed to follow my advice, as experience has sufficiently proved. It was in fact the continental system which separated the interests of Murat from those of the emperor, and which compelled the new King of Naples to form alliances amongst the princes at war with France. Different opinions have been entertained on this subject; mine is, that the marshal of the empire was wrong, but the King of Naples right.

## CHAPTER XXV.

**New titles and old names—Napoleon's dislike of literary men—Odes, &c. on the marriage of Napoleon—Chateaubriand and Lemercier—Death of Chenier—Chateaubriand elected his successor—His discourse read by Napoleon—Bonaparte compared to Nero—Suppression of the *Mercure*—M. de Chateaubriand ordered to leave Paris—MM. Lemercier and Esmenard presented to the emperor—Birth of the King of Rome—France in 1811—My return to Hamburg—Government committee established there—Anecdote of the Count de Chaban—Napoleon's misunderstanding with the pope—Cardinal Fesch—Convention of a council—Declaration required from the bishops—Spain in 1811—Certainty of war with Russia—Lauriston supersedes Caulincourt at St. Petersburg—The war in Spain neglected—Troops of all nations at the disposal of Bonaparte—Levy of national guard—Treaties with France and Austria—Capitulation renewed with Switzerland—Intrigues with Czarnischeff.**

THE princes and dukes of the empire must pardon me for so often designating them by their republican names. The marshals set less value on their titles of nobility, than the dukes and counts selected from among the civilians. Of all the sons of the republic, Regnault de Saint-Jean-d'Angély, was the most gratified at being a count, whilst among the fathers of the revolution, no one could regard with greater disdain than Fouché, his title of Duke of Otranto; he congratulated himself upon its possession only once, and that was after the fall of the empire.

I have expressed my dislike of Fouché, and the reason of that feeling was, I could not endure his system of making the police a government within a government. He had left Paris before my return thither, but I had frequent occasion to speak of that famous personage to Savary, who for the reason above assigned, I do not always term Duke de Rovigo. Savary knew better than any one the fallacious measures of Fouché's



administration, since he was his successor. Fouché, under pretence of encouraging men of letters, though well aware that the emperor was hostile to them, intended only to bring them into contempt, by making them write verses at command. It was easily seen that Napoleon nourished a profound dislike of literary men, though we must not conclude that he wished the public to be aware of that dislike. Those besides who devoted their pens to blazon his glory and his power, were sure to be received by him with distinction. On the other hand, as Charlemagne and Louis XIV. owed a portion of the splendour of their reigns to the lustre reflected on them by literature, he wished to appear to patronise authors, provided that they never discussed questions relating to philosophy, the independence of mankind, and civil and political rights. In regard to men of science, it was wholly different; those he held in real estimation; but men of letters, properly so called, were considered by him merely as a sprig in his Imperial crown. The marriage of the emperor with an Arch-duchess of Austria had set all the court poets to work, and in this strife of praise and flattery, it must be confessed that the false gods were vanquished by the true God; for in spite of their fulsome verses, not one of the disciples of Apollo could exceed in extravagance the bishops in their mandaments. At a time when so many were striving to force themselves into notice, there still existed a feeling of esteem in the public mind for men of superior talent, who remained independent amidst the general corruption; such was M. Lemercier; such was M. de Chateaubriand. I was in Paris in the spring of 1811, at the period of Chenier's death, when the numerous friends whom Chateaubriand possessed in the second class of the Institute, looked to him as the successor of Chenier. This was more than a mere literary question, not only on account of the high literary reputation M. de Chateaubriand already possessed, but of the recollection of his noble conduct at the period of the Duke d'Enghien's death, which was yet fresh in the memory of every one; and besides, no person could be ignorant of the immeasurable difference of opinion between Chenier and M. de Chateaubriand.

M. de Chateaubriand obtained a great majority of votes, and was elected a member of the Institute. This opened a wide field for conjecture in Paris. Every one was anxious to see how the author of the "*Génie du Christianisme*," the faithful defender of the Bourbons, would bend his eloquence to pronounce the eulogium of a regicide. The time for the admis-

sion of the new member of the Institute arrived ; but in his discourse, copies of which were circulated in Paris, he had ventured to allude to the death of Louis XVI., and to raise his voice against the regicides. This did not displease Napoleon ; but, M. de Chateaubriand also made a profession of faith in favour of liberty, which, he said, found refuge amongst men of letters when banished from the politic body. This was great boldness, for the time ; for though Bonaparte was secretly gratified at seeing the judges of Louis XVI. scourged by an heroic pen, yet those men held the highest situations under the government. Cambacérès filled the second place in the empire, although at a great distance from the first : Merlin de Donay was also in power ; and it is known how much liberty was stifled and hidden beneath the dazzling illusion of what is termed glory. M. M. Suard, de Ségur, de Fontanes, and two or three other members of the same class of the Institute, whose names I cannot recollect, were of opinion that the discourse should be read ; but it was opposed by the majority. When Napoleon was informed of what had passed, he demanded a sight of the address, which was presented to him by M. Daru. After having perused it, he exclaimed :—" Had this discourse been delivered, I would have shut the gates of the Institute, and thrown M. de Chateaubriand into a dungeon for life." The storm long raged ; at length means of conciliation were tried. The emperor required M. de Chateaubriand to prepare another discourse, which the latter refused to do, in spite of every menace. Madame Cay applied to Madame Regnault de Saint-Jean-d'Angely, who interested her husband in favour of the author of the "*Génie du Christianisme*." M. de Montalivet and Savary also acted on this occasion in the most praiseworthy manner ; and succeeded in appeasing the first transports of the emperor's rage. But the name of Chateaubriand constantly called to mind the circumstances which had occasioned him to give in his resignation ; and besides, Napoleon had another complaint against him. He had published in the *Mercur*, an article on a work of M. Alexandre de Laborde. In that article, which was eagerly read in Paris, and which caused the suppression of the *Mercur*, occurred the famous phrase which has been since so often repeated : " In vain Nero triumphed : Tacitus was born in his empire." This quotation leads me to repeat an observation which, I believe, I have already made, viz. that it is a manifest exaggeration to compare Bonaparte to Nero. Napoleon's ambition might blind his vision to political crimes ;

but in private life, no man could evince less disposition to cruelty. A proof that he bore little resemblance to Nero, is that his anger against the author of the article in question vented itself in mere words. "What!" exclaimed he, "does Chateaubriand think I am a fool, and that I do not know what he means? If he go on this way, I will have him sabred on the steps of the Tuileries." This language is quite characteristic of Bonaparte; but it was uttered in the first ebullition of his wrath. Napoleon merely threatened, but Nero would have made good his threat; and in such a case, there is surely some difference between words and deeds.

The discourse of M. de Chateaubriand revived Napoleon's former enmity against him; he received an order to quit Paris. M. Daru returned to him the manuscript of his discourse, which had been read by Bonaparte, who cancelled some passages with a pencil.

Such were the principal circumstances attending the nomination of Chateaubriand to the Institute. I shall now relate some others which occurred on a previous occasion, viz. on the election of an old and worthy visiter at Malmaison, M. Lemercier, and which will serve to show one of those strange inconsistencies so frequent in the character of Napoleon.

After the foundation of the empire, M. Lemercier ceased to present himself at the Tuileries, Saint Cloud, or at Malmaison, though he was often seen in the saloons of Madame Bonaparte, while she yet hoped not to become a queen. Two places were vacant at once in the second class of the Institute, which still contained a party favourable to liberty. This party, finding it impossible to influence the nomination of both members, contented itself with naming one; it being the mutual condition in return for favouring the government candidate, that the government party should not oppose the choice of the liberals. The liberal party selected M. Lemercier; but as they knew his former connection with Bonaparte had been broken off, they wished first to ascertain that he would do nothing to compromise their choice. Chenier was empowered to inquire whether M. Lemercier would refuse to accompany them to the Tuileries, when they repaired thither in a body; and whether, on his election, he would comply with the usual ceremony of being presented to the emperor. M. Lemercier replied, that he would do nothing contrary to the customs and usages of the body to which he might belong: he was accordingly elected. The government candidate was M. Esmenard, who was also elected. The two new members were presented to

the emperor on the same day. On this occasion upwards of four hundred persons were present in the saloon, from one of whom I received these details. When the emperor saw M. Lemercier, for whom he had long pretended great friendship, he said to him, in a kind tone, "Well, Lemercier, you are now installed." Lemercier respectfully bowed to the emperor, but without uttering a word in reply. Napoleon was mortified at this silence; but without saying any thing more to Lemercier, he turned to Esmenard, the member who should have been most acceptable to him, and vented upon him the whole weight of his indignation, in a manner equally unfeeling and unjust. "Well, Esmenard," said he, "do you still hold your place in the police?" These words were spoken in so loud a tone, as to be heard by all present; and it was doubtless this cruel and ambiguous speech, which furnished the enemies of Esmenard with arms to attack his reputation as a man of honour, and to give an appearance of disgrace to those functions which he exercised with so much zeal and ability.

When, at the commencement of 1811, I left Paris, I had ceased to delude myself respecting the brilliant career which seemed opening before me during the consulate. I clearly perceived that since Bonaparte, instead of receiving me as I expected, refused to see me, the calumnies of my enemies were triumphant, and that I had nothing to hope for from an absolute ruler, whose past injustice rendered him the more unjust. He now possessed what he had so long and ardently wished for, a son of his own—an inheritor of his name, his power, and his throne. I must take this opportunity of stating, that the malevolent and infamous rumours spread abroad respecting the birth of the King of Rome were wholly without foundation. My friend Corvisart, who did not for a single instant leave Maria Louisa, during her long and painful labour, removed from my mind every doubt on the subject. It is as true that the young prince, for whom the emperor of Austria answered at the font, was the son of Napoleon and the archduchess Maria Louisa, as it is false that Bonaparte was the father of the first child of Hortense. The birth of the son of Napoleon was hailed with general enthusiasm. The emperor was at the height of his power from the period of the birth of his son, until the reverse he experienced after the battle of the Moskowa. The empire, including the states possessed by the imperial family, contained nearly fifty-seven millions of inhabitants; but the period was fast approaching when this

power, unparalleled in modern times, was to moulder away, and fall by its own weight.

As I took the most lively interest in all that concerned the Hanse Towns, my first care on returning to Hamburg, was to collect information from the most respectable sources concerning the influential members of the new government. Davoust was at its head. On his arrival, he had established in the duchy of Mecklenburg, in Swedish Pomerania and in Stralsund, the capital of that province, military posts and custom-houses, and that in a time of profound peace with those countries, and without any previous declaration. The omnipotence of Napoleon, and the terror inspired by the name of Davoust, overcame all obstacles which might have opposed those iniquitous usurpations. The weak were forced to yield to the strong.

At Hamburg a government committee was formed, consisting of the Prince of Eckmühl, as president, Count de Chaban, counsellor of state, who superintended the departments of the interior and finance, and of M. Faure, counsellor of state, who was appointed to form and regulate the courts of law. I had sometimes met M. de Chaban at Malmaison. He was distantly related to Josephine, and had formerly been an officer in the French guards. He was compelled to emigrate, having been subjected to every species of persecution during the revolution. I recollect an anecdote, which but too well depicts those diastrous times. The Count de Chaban, being obliged to cross France during the reign of terror, was compelled to assume a disguise. He accordingly provided himself with a smock-frock, a cart and horses, and a load of corn. In this manner he journeyed from place to place, till he reached the frontiers. He stopped at Rochambeau, in the Vendomois, where he was recognized by the Marshal de Rochambeau, who, to guard against exciting any suspicion among his servants, treated him as if he had really been a carman, and said to him, "You may dine in the kitchen." M. de Chaban was among the first of the emigrants who returned to France after the 18th Brumaire. He was at first made sub-prefect of Vendome; but, on the union of Tuscany with France, Napoleon created him a member of the junta appointed to regulate the affairs of Tuscany. He next became prefect of Coblenz and Brussels, was made a count by Bonaparte, and was afterwards chosen a member of the government committee at Hamburg. M. de Chaban was a man of up-

right principles, and he discharged his various functions in a way that commanded esteem and attachment.

During my stay in Hamburg, which on this occasion was not very long, Napoleon's attention was particularly engaged by the campaign of Portugal and his discussions with the pope. At this period, the thunderbolts of Rome were not very alarming. Yet precautions were taken to keep secret the excommunication which Pius VII. had pronounced against Napoleon. The event, however, got reported about, and a party in favour of the pope speedily rose up among the clergy, and more particularly among the fanatics. Napoleon sent to Savona the Archbishops of Nantz, Bourges, Treves, and Tours, to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation with his holiness. But all their endeavours were unavailing, and after staying a month at Savona, they returned to Paris without having done any thing. But Napoleon was not discouraged by this first disappointment, and he shortly afterwards sent a second deputation, which experienced the same fate as the first. Cardinal Fesch, Napoleon's uncle, took part with the pope. For this fact I can vouch, though I cannot for an answer which he is said to have made to the emperor. I have been informed, that when Napoleon was one day speaking to his uncle about the pope's obstinacy, the cardinal made some observations to him on his (Bonaparte's) conduct to the holy father, upon which Napoleon flew into a passion, and said that the pope and he were two old fools. "As for the pope," said he, "he is too obstinate to listen to any thing. 'No, I am determined he shall never have Rome again.... He will not remain at Savona, and where does he wish I should send him?'"—"To heaven, perhaps," replied the cardinal.

The truth is, the emperor was violently irritated against Pius VII. Observing with uneasiness, the differences and difficulties to which all these dissensions gave rise, he was anxious to put a stop to them. As the pope would not listen to any propositions that were made to him, Napoleon convoked a council, which assembled in Paris, and at which several Italian bishops were present. The pope insisted that the temporal and spiritual interests should be discussed together; and, however disposed a certain number of prelates, particularly the Italians, might be to separate these two points of discussion, yet the influence of the church, and well-contrived intrigues, gradually gave preponderance to the wishes of the pope. The emperor, having discovered that a secret corre-

spondence was carried on by several of the bishops and archbishops who had seats in the council, determined to get rid of some of them, and the Bishops of Ghent, Troyes, Tournay, and Toulouse, were arrested, and sent to Vincennes. They were superseded by others. He wished to dissolve the council, which he saw was making no advance towards the object he had in view, and fearing that it might adopt some act at variance with his supreme wish, every member of the council was individually required to make a declaration that the proposed changes were conformable to the laws of the church. It was said at the time, that they were unanimous in this individual declaration, though it is certain that in the sittings of the council opinions were divided. I know not what his holiness thought of these written opinions compared with the verbal opinions that had been delivered; but certain it is, though still a captive at Savona, he refused to adhere to the concessions granted in the secret declarations.

The conflicts which took place in Spain during the summer of 1811, were unattended by any decisive results. Some brilliant events, indeed, attested the courage of our troops, and the skill of our generals. Such were the battle of Albufera, and the taking of Tarragona, while Wellington was obliged to raise the siege of Badajos. These advantages, which were attended only by glory, encouraged Napoleon in the hope of triumphing in the Peninsula, and enabled him to enjoy the brilliant fêtes which took place in Paris, in celebration of the birth of the King of Rome.

On his return from a tour in Holland, at the end of October, Napoleon clearly saw that a rupture with Russia was inevitable. In vain he sent Lauriston, as ambassador to St. Petersburg, to supersede Caulincourt, who would no longer remain there: all the diplomatic skill in the world could effect nothing with a powerful government, which had already formed its determination. All the cabinets in Europe were now unanimous in wishing for the overthrow of Napoleon's power, and the people no less ardently wished for an order of things less fatal to their trade and industry. In the state to which Europe was reduced, no one could counteract the wish of Russia and her allies to go to war with France—Lauriston, no more than Caulincourt.

The continental war for which Napoleon was now obliged to prepare, forced him to neglect Spain, and to leave his interests in that country in a state of real danger. Indeed, his occupation of Spain, and his well-known wish to maintain himself

there, were additional motives for inducing the powers of Europe to enter upon a war which would necessarily divide Napoleon's forces. All at once, the troops which were in Italy and the north of Germany moved towards the frontiers of the Russian empire. In March, 1811, the emperor had all the military forces of Europe at his disposal. It was curious to see this union of nations, distinguished by difference of manners, language, religion, and interests, all ready to fight for one man, against a power who had done nothing to offend them. Prussia herself, though she could not pardon the injuries he had inflicted upon her, joined his alliance, though with the intention of breaking it on the first opportunity. When the war with Russia was first spoken of, Duroc and I had frequent conversations on the subject. I communicated to him all the intelligence I received from abroad respecting that vast enterprise. The Duke de Rovigo shared all my forebodings; and if he, and those who thought like him had been listened to, the war would probably have been avoided. Through him I learned who were the individuals who urged the invasion. The eager ambition with which they looked forward to viceroyalties, duchies, and endowments, blinded them to the possibility of seeing the Cossacks in Paris.

The gigantic enterprise being determined on, vast preparations were made for carrying it into effect. Before his departure, Napoleon, who was to take with him all the disposable troops, caused a senatus consultum to be issued for levying the national guards, who were divided into three corps. He also arranged his diplomatic affairs, by concluding, in February 1812, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with Prussia, by virtue of which the two contracting powers mutually guaranteed the integrity of their own possessions, and the European possessions of the Ottoman Porte, because that power was then at war with Russia. A similar treaty was concluded about the beginning of March with Austria, and about the end of the same month, Napoleon renewed the capitulation of France and Switzerland. At length, in the month of April, there came to light an evident proof of the success which had attended M. Czernisheff's intrigues in Paris. It was ascertained that a clerk in the war-office, named Michel, had communicated to him the situation of the French forces in Germany. Michel was condemned to death, for the time was gone by when Bonaparte, confident in his genius and good fortune, could communicate his plans to the spy of General Mélas.



CHAPTER XXVI.

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**Attacks of my enemies—Memorial to the emperor—Ogier de la Saussaye, and the mysterious box—Removal of the pope to Fontainebleau—Anecdote of his holiness and M. Denon—Departure of Napoleon and Maria Louisa for Dresden—Situation of affairs in Spain and Portugal—Rapp's account of the emperor's journey to Dantzic—Mutual wish for war on the part of Napoleon and Alexander—Sweden and Turkey—Napoleon's vain attempt to detach Sweden from her alliance with Russia.**

I TRUST, that whatever my readers may reproach me with, they cannot complain of my speaking too frequently of myself. I hide myself as much as possible behind those important personages whom I have known intimately, and with whom I have endeavoured to make others acquainted. However, there are some circumstances in which I am personally concerned, and the mention of which I cannot with propriety omit. Such are the infamous calumnies which incessantly and bitterly pursued me from the moment when my functions in Hamburg ceased by the union of the Hanse Towns with the great metropolitan empire. The little that I have already stated on this subject, will have sufficed to point out the quarter whence these calumnies proceeded. I suppose, that by assailing me, Davoust consoled himself for his disappointment in not becoming viceroy of Poland.

In March, 1812, when I saw that an approaching war would necessarily take Napoleon from France, weary of the persecutions, and even threats, by which I was every day assailed, I addressed to the emperor a memorial explaining my conduct, and showing the folly and wickedness of my accusers. Among them was a certain Ogier de la Saussaye, who had sent a report to the emperor, in which the principal charge was, that I had carried off a box containing important papers belonging to the first consul. The accusation of Ogier de la Saussaye, terminated thus: "I add to my report the interrogatories

of MM. Westphalen, Osy, Chapeau Rouge, Ankscher, Thierry, and Gumprecht-Mares. The evidence of the latter bears principally on a *certain mysterious box, a secret upon which it is impossible to throw any light, but the reality of which we are bound to believe.*" These are his words. The affair of the mysterious box has been already explained. I have already informed the reader that I put my papers into a box, which I buried lest it should be stolen from me. But for that precaution I should not have been able to lay before the reader the autograph documents in my possession, and which I imagine form the most essential part of these volumes. In my memorial to the emperor I said in allusion to the passage above quoted, "This, Sire, is the most atrocious part of Ogier's report. Gumprecht being questioned on this point replies, that the accuser has probably, as well as himself, seen the circumstance mentioned in an infamous pamphlet which appeared seven or eight years ago. It was I think entitled, '*Le secret du Cabinet des Tuileries.*' and was very likely at the time of its appearance denounced to your Majesty by the police. In that libel it is stated among a thousand other calumnies equally false and absurd: *When I left the first consul I carried away a box full of important papers; that I was in consequence sent to the Temple, where your brother Joseph came to me and offered me my liberation, and a million of francs, if I would restore the papers, which I refused to do, &c.* Ogier, instead of looking for this libel in Hamburg, where I read it, has the impudence to give credit to the charge, the truth of which could have been ascertained immediately: and he adds, *this secret we are bound to believe.* Your Majesty knows whether I was ever in the Temple and whether Joseph ever made such an offer to me." I entreated that the emperor would do me the favour to bring me to trial; for, certainly, I should have regarded that as a favour, rather than to remain as I was, exposed to vague accusations; yet all my solicitations were in vain. My letter to the emperor remained unanswered; but though Bonaparte could not spare a few moments to reply to an old friend, I learned through Duroc the contempt he cherished for my accusers. Duroc advised me not to be uneasy, and that in all probability the emperor's prejudices against me would be speedily overcome; and I must say, that if they were not overcome, it was neither the fault of Duroc nor Savary, who knew how to estimate the miserable intrigues just alluded to.

Napoleon was at length determined to extend the bounds of his empire, or rather to avenge the injuries which Russia had

committed against his continental system. Yet, before he departed for Germany, the resolute refusal of the pope to submit to any arrangement, occasionally claimed his consideration. Savona did not appear to him a sufficiently secure residence for such a prisoner. He feared that when all his strength should be removed towards the Niemen, the English might carry off the pope, or that the Italians, excited by the clergy, whose dissatisfaction was general in Italy, would stir up those religious dissensions which are always fatal and difficult to quell. With the view, therefore, of keeping the pope under his control, he removed him to Fontainebleau, and even at one time thought of bringing him to Paris.

The emperor appointed M. Denon to reside with the pope at Fontainebleau; and to afford his illustrious prisoner the society of such a man, was certainly a delicate mark of attention on the part of Napoleon. When speaking of his residence with Pius VII., M. Denon related to me the following anecdote: "The pope," said he, "was much attached to me. He always addressed me by the appellation *my son*, and he loved to converse with me, especially on the subject of the Egyptian expedition. One day he asked me for my work on Egypt, which he said he wished to read, and as you know, it is not quite orthodox, and does not perfectly agree with the creation of the world according to Genesis, I at first hesitated; but the pope insisted, and at length I complied with his wish. The holy father assured me that he had been much interested by the perusal of the book. I made some allusion to the delicate points, upon which he said, 'No matter, no matter, my son; all that is exceedingly curious, and I must confess entirely new to me.' I then," continued M. Denon, "told his holiness why I hesitated to lend him the work, which, I observed, he had excommunicated, together with its author. 'Excommunicated you, my son?' resumed the pope, in a tone of affectionate concern. 'I am very sorry for it, and I assure you I was far from being aware of any such thing.'" When M. Denon related to me this anecdote, he told me how greatly he had admired the virtues and resignation of the holy father; but he added, that it would nevertheless have been easier to make him a martyr, than to have induced him to yield on any point, until he should be restored to the temporal sovereignty of Rome, of which he considered himself the depositary, and which he would not endure the reproach of having willingly sacrificed. After determining on the pope's residence, Napo-

leon set off for Dresden, accompanied by Maria Louisa, who had expressed a wish to see her father.

This enterprise, the most gigantic perhaps the genius of man ever conceived, since the conquest of India by Alexander, now absorbed universal attention, and defied the calculations of reason. The Manzanares was forgotten, and nothing was thought of but the Niemen, already so celebrated by the raft of Tilsit. Thither, as towards a common centre, were moving men, horses, provisions, and baggage of every kind, from all parts of Europe. The hopes of our generals, and the fears of all prudent men, were directed to Russia. The war in Spain, which was becoming more and more unfortunate, excited but feeble interest; and our most distinguished officers looked upon it as a disgrace to be sent to the Peninsula. In short, it was easy to foresee the period that was not far distant when the French would be obliged to recross the Pyrenees. Though the truth was concealed from the emperor on many subjects, yet he was not deceived as to the situation of Spain in the Spring of 1812. In February the Duke de Ragusa had frankly informed him that the armies of Spain and Portugal could not, without considerable reinforcements of men and money, hope for any important advantages, since Ciudad-Rodrigo and Badajoz had fallen into the hands of the English.

Before he commenced his great operations on the Niemen and the Volga, Napoleon made a journey to Dantzic, and Rapp, who was then governor of that city, informed me of some curious particulars connected with the imperial visit. The fact is, that if Rapp's advice had been listened to, and had been supported by men higher in rank than himself, Bonaparte would not have braved the chances of the Russian war, until those chances turned against him. Speaking to me of the Russians, Rapp said, "Those . . . . . will soon be as wise as we are! Every time we go to war with them, we teach them how to beat us." I was struck with the originality and truth of this observation, which, at the time I heard it, was new, though it has been since often repeated.

"On leaving Dresden," said Rapp to me, "Napoleon came to Dantzic. I expected a dressing; for, to tell the truth, I had treated very cavalierly his custom-house and its officers, who were raising up as many enemies to France as there were inhabitants in my government. I had also warned him of all that has since happened in Russia, but I assure you I did not think myself quite so good a prophet. In the beginning of

1812, I thus wrote to him : ‘ If your Majesty should experience reverses, you may depend on it that both Russians and Germans will rise up in a mass to shake off the yoke. There will be a crusade, and all your allies will abandon you. Even the King of Bavaria, on whom you rely so confidently, will join the coalition. I except only the King of Saxony. He, perhaps, might remain faithful to you ; but his subjects will force him to make common cause with your enemies.’ The King of Naples, continued Rapp, who had the command of the cavalry, had been to Dantzic before the emperor. He seemed to take no more favourable a view of the approaching campaign than I did. Murat was dissatisfied that the emperor would not consent to his rejoining him in Dresden ; and he said that he would rather be a captain of grenadiers than a king such as he was.”

Here I interrupted Rapp to tell him what had fallen from Murat when I met him in the Champs-Élysées. “ Bah ! ” resumed Rapp, “ Murat, brave as he was, was a craven in Napoleon’s presence. On the emperor’s arrival in Dantzic, the first thing of which he spoke to me was the alliance he had just then concluded with Prussia and Austria. I could not refrain from telling him that we did a great deal of mischief as allies ; a fact of which I was assured from the reports daily transmitted to me respecting the conduct of our troops. Bonaparte tossed his head, as you know he was in the habit of doing when he was displeased. After a moment’s silence, dropping the familiar thee and thou, he said, ‘ Monsieur le Général, this is a torrent which must be allowed to run itself out. It will not last long. I must first ascertain whether Alexander decidedly wishes for war.’ Then, suddenly changing the subject of conversation, he said, ‘ Have you not lately observed something extraordinary in Murat ? I think he is quite altered. Is he ill ? ’—‘ Sire,’ replied I, ‘ Murat is not ill, but he is out of spirits.’—‘ Out of spirits ; but why ? Is he not satisfied at being a king ? ’—‘ Sire, Murat says he is no king.’—‘ That is his own fault. Why does he make himself a Neapolitan. Why is he not a Frenchman ? When he is in his kingdom he commits all sorts of follies. He favours the trade of England ; that I will not suffer.’

“ When,” continued Rapp, “ he spoke of the favour extended by Murat to the trade between Naples and England, I thought my turn would come next ; but I was deceived. No more was said on the subject ; and when I was about to take my leave, the emperor said to me, as when in his best of humours,

‘Rapp, you will sup with me this evening.’ I accordingly supped that evening with the emperor, who had also invited the King of Naples and Berthier. Next day, the emperor visited the fortress, and afterwards returned to the government-palace, where he received the civil and military authorities. He again invited Murat, Berthier, and me to supper. When we first sat down to table, we were all very dull, for the emperor observed silence; and, as you well know, under such circumstances, not even Murat himself dared to be the first to speak to him. At length Napoleon, addressing me, inquired how far it was from Cadiz to Dantzic? ‘Too far, Sire,’ replied I.—‘I understand you, Monsieur le Général; but in a few months the distance will be still greater.’—‘So much the worse, Sire!’ Here there was another pause. Neither Murat nor Berthier, on whom the emperor fixed a scrutinizing glance, uttered a word; and Napoleon again broke silence, but without addressing any one of us in particular: ‘Gentlemen,’ said he, in a solemn, and rather low tone of voice, ‘I see plainly, that you are none of you inclined to fight again. The King of Naples does not wish to leave the fine climate of his dominions; Berthier wishes to enjoy the diversion of the chase at his estate of Grosbois; and Rapp is impatient to be back to his hotel in Paris.’ Would you believe it,” pursued Rapp, “that neither Murat nor Berthier said a word in reply? and the ball again came to me. I told him frankly, that what he said was perfectly true; and the King of Naples and the Prince of Neufchâtel complimented me on my spirit, and observed that I was quite right in saying what I did. ‘Well,’ said I, ‘since it was so very right, why did you not follow my example, and why leave me to say all?’ You cannot conceive,” added Rapp, “how confounded they both were; and especially Murat, though he was very differently situated from Berthier.”

The negotiations which Bonaparte opened with Alexander, when he yet wished to seem averse to war, resembled those oratorical paraphrases which do not prevent us coming to the conclusion we wish. The two emperors equally desired war; the one with the view of consolidating his power, and the other in the hope of freeing himself from a yoke which threatened to reduce him to a state of vassalage; for it was little short of this, to require a power like Russia to close her ports against England, for the mere purpose of favouring the interests of France. At that time, only two European powers were not tied to Napoleon’s fate—Sweden and Turkey. Napoleon

was anxious to gain the alliance of those two powers. With respect to Sweden, his efforts were vain; and though, in fact, Turkey was then at war with Russia, yet the grand seignior was not now, as at the time of Sebastiani's embassy, subject to the influence of France.

The peace, which was soon concluded at Bucharest, between Russia and Turkey, increased Napoleon's embarrassment. The left of the Russian army, secured by the neutrality of Turkey, was reinforced by Bagration's corps from Moldavia: it subsequently occupied the right of the Beresina, and destroyed the last hope of saving the wrecks of the French army, which was now reduced one-half. It is difficult to conceive how Turkey could have allowed the consideration of injuries she had received from France to induce her to terminate her war with Russia, when France was attacking that power with immense forces. The Turks had never a fairer opportunity for taking revenge on Russia, and, unfortunately for Napoleon, they suffered it to escape.

Napoleon was not more successful when he sought the alliance of a prince whose fortune he had made, and who was allied to his family, but with whom he had never been on terms of good understanding. The Emperor Alexander had a considerable corps of troops in Finland, destined to protect that country against the Swedes; Napoleon having consented to that occupation, in order to gain the provisional consent of Alexander to the invasion of Spain. What was the course pursued by Napoleon when, being at war with Russia, he wished to detach Sweden from her alliance with Alexander? He intimated to Bernadotte, that he had a sure opportunity of retaking Finland; a conquest which would gratify his subjects, and win their attachment to him. By this alliance Napoleon wished to force Alexander not to withdraw the troops, who were in the north of his empire, but rather to augment their numbers, in order to cover Finland and St. Petersburg. It was thus that Napoleon endeavoured to draw the prince royal into his coalition. It was of little consequence to Napoleon whether Bernadotte succeeded or not. The Emperor Alexander would nevertheless have been obliged to increase his force in Finland; that was all that Napoleon wished. In the gigantic struggle upon which France and Russia were about to enter, the most trivial alliance was not to be neglected. In January, 1812, Davoust invaded Swedish Pomerania without any declaration of war, and without any apparent motive. Was this inconceivable violation of territory

likely to dispose the Prince Royal of Sweden to the proposed alliance, even had that alliance not been adverse to the interests of his country ? That was impossible: and Bernadotte took the part which was expected of him. He rejected the offers of Napoleon, and prepared for coming events.

The Emperor Alexander wished to withdraw his force from Finland, for the purpose of more effectively opposing the immense army which threatened his states. Unwilling to expose Finland to an attack on the part of Sweden, he had an interview, on the 28th of August, 1812, at Abo, with the prince royal, to come to an arrangement with him for uniting their interests. I know that the Emperor of Russia pledged himself, whatever might happen, to protect Bernadotte against the fate of the new dynasties: to guarantee the possession of his throne, and promised that he should have Norway as a compensation for Finland. He even went so far as to hint that Bernadotte might supersede Napoleon. Bernadotte adopted all the propositions of Alexander, and from that moment Sweden made common cause against Napoleon. The prince royal's conduct has been much blamed; but the question resolved itself into one of mere political interest. Could Bernadotte, a Swede by adoption, prefer the alliance of an ambitious sovereign, whose vengeance he had to fear, and who had sanctioned the seizure of Finland, to that of a powerful monarch, his formidable neighbour, his protector in Sweden, and whose hostility might effectually support the hereditary claims of young Gustavus ? Sweden, in joining France, would thereby have declared herself the enemy of England. Where, then, would have been her navy, her trade, and even her existence ?



## CHAPTER XXVII.

Changeableness of Bonaparte's plans and opinions—Articles for the *Moniteur* dictated by the first consul—The protocol of the Congress of Chatillon—Conversations with Davoust at Hamburg—Promise of the vice-royalty of Poland—Hope and Disappointment of the Poles—Influence of illusion on Bonaparte—The French in Moscow—Disasters of the retreat—Mallet's conspiracy—Intelligence of the affair communicated to Napoleon at Smolensko—Circumstances detailed by Rapp—Real motives of Napoleon's return to Paris—Murat, Ney, and Eugène—Power of the Italians to endure cold—Napoleon's exertions to repair his losses—Defection of General Yorck—Convocation of a privy council—War resolved on—Wavering of the pope—Useless negotiations with Vienna—Maria Louisa appointed Regent.

It may now be asked whether Bonaparte, previous to entering upon the last campaign, had resolved on restoring Poland to independence. The fact is, that Bonaparte, as emperor, never entertained any positive wish to re-establish the old kingdom of Poland, though at a previous period he was strongly inclined to that re-establishment, of which he felt the necessity. He may have said that he would re-establish the kingdom of Poland, but I must beg leave to say, that that is no reason for believing that he entertained any such design. He had said, and even sworn, that he would never aggrandize the territory of the empire! The changeableness of Bonaparte's ideas, plans, and projects, renders it difficult to seize them; but they may be best understood, when it is considered that all Napoleon's plans and conceptions varied with his fortune. Thus, it is not unlikely that he might at one time have considered the re-establishment of Poland as essential to European policy, and afterwards have regarded it as adverse to the development of his ambition. Who can venture to guess what passed in his mind, when dazzled by his glory at Dresden; and whether, in one of his dreams, he might not have regarded the empire of the Jagel-

lons as another gem in the imperial diadem? The truth is, that Bonaparte, when general-in-chief of the army of Egypt and first consul, had deeply at heart to avenge the dismemberment of Poland, and I have often conversed with him on this most interesting subject, upon which we entirely concurred in opinion. But times and circumstances were changed since we walked together on the terrace of Cairo, and mutually deplored the death of young Sulkowski. Had Sulkowski lived, Napoleon's favourable intentions with respect to Poland might perhaps have been confirmed. A fact which explains to me the coolness, I may almost say the indifference, of Bonaparte, to the resurrection of Poland, is, that the commencement of the consulate was the period at which that measure particularly occupied his attention. How often did he converse on the subject with me and other persons, who may yet recollect his sentiments! It was the topic on which he most loved to converse, and on which he spoke with feeling and enthusiasm. In the *Moniteur* of the period here alluded to, I could point out more than one article without signature, or official character, which Napoleon dictated to me, and the insertion of which in that journal, considering the energy of certain expressions, sufficiently proves that they could have emanated from none but Bonaparte. It was usually in the evening that he dictated to me these articles. Then, when the affairs of the day were over, he would launch into the future, and give free scope to his vast projects. Some of these articles were characterised by so little moderation, that the first consul would very often destroy them in the morning, smiling at the violent ebullitions of the preceding night. At other times I took the liberty of not sending them to the *Moniteur* on the night on which they were dictated; and though he might earnestly wish their insertion, I adduced reasons, good or bad, to account for the delay. He would then read over the article in question, and approve of my conduct; but he would sometimes add, "It is nevertheless true, that with an independent kingdom of Poland, and a hundred and fifty thousand disposable troops in the east of France, I should always be master of Russia, Prussia, and Austria."—"General," I would reply, "I am entirely of your opinion; but wherefore awaken the suspicions of the interested parties? Leave all to time and circumstances."

The reader may have to learn, and not, perhaps, without some surprise, that in the protocol of the sittings of the congress of Châtillon, Napoleon put forward the spoliation of Poland

by the three principal powers allied against him, as a claim to a more advantageous peace, and to territorial indemnities for France. In policy, he was right, but the report of foreign cannon was already loud enough to drown the best of arguments.

After the ill-timed and useless union of the Hanse Towns to France, I returned to Hamburg in the spring of 1811, to convey my family to France. I then had some conversation with Davoust. On one occasion, I said to him, that if his hopes were realized, and my sad predictions respecting the war with Russia overthrown, I hoped to see the restoration of the kingdom of Poland. Davoust replied, that event was probable, since he had Napoleon's promise of the vice-royalty of that kingdom, and as several of his comrades had been promised starosties. Davoust made no secret of this, and it was generally known throughout Hamburg and the north of Germany. But notwithstanding what Davoust said respecting Napoleon's intentions, I considered that these promises had been made as conditional rather than positive.

On Napoleon's arrival in Poland, the diet of Warsaw assented, as there seemed reason to be, of the emperor's sentiments, declared the kingdom free and independent. The different treaties of dismemberment were pronounced to be null; and certainly the diet had a right so to act: for it calculated upon his support. But the address of the diet to Napoleon, in which these principles were declared, was ill received. His answer was full of doubt and indecision, the motive of which could not be blamed. To secure the alliance of Austria against Russia, he had just guaranteed to his father-in-law the integrity of his dominions. Napoleon, therefore, declared that he could take no part in any movement, or resolution, which might disturb Austria in the possession of the Polish provinces, forming a part of her empire. To act otherwise, he said, would be to separate himself from his alliance with Austria, and to throw her into the arms of Russia. But with regard to the Polish-Russian provinces, Napoleon declared he would see what he could do, should Providence favour the good cause. These vague and obscure expressions did not define what he intended to do for the Poles, in the event of success crowning his vast enterprises. They excited the distrust of the Poles, and had no other result. On this subject, however, one observation occurs, which is of some force, as an apo-

logy for Napoleon. Poland was successively divided between three powers, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, with each of which Napoleon had been at war, but never with all three at once. He had, therefore, never been able to take advantage of his victories to re-establish Poland, without injuring the interests of neutral powers, or of his allies. Hence it may be concluded, not only that he never had the positive will, which would have triumphed over all obstacles, but also that there never was a possibility of realizing those dreams and projects of revenge in which he had indulged on the banks of the Nile, as it were, to console the departed spirit of Sulkowski.

Bonaparte's character presents many unaccountable incongruities. Although the most positive man that perhaps ever existed, yet there never was one who more readily yielded to the charm of illusion. In many circumstances, the wish and the reality were to him one and the same thing. He never indulged in greater illusions than at the beginning of the campaign of Moscow. Even before the approach of the disasters, which accompanied the most fatal retreat recorded in history, all sensible persons concurred in the opinion that the emperor ought to have passed the winter of 1812-13 in Poland, and have resumed his vast enterprises in the spring. But his natural impatience impelled him forward as it were unconsciously; and he seemed to be under the influence of an invisible demon, stronger than even his own will. This demon was ambition. He who knew so well the value of time, never sufficiently understood its power, and how much is sometimes gained by delay. Yet Cæsar's Commentaries, which were his favourite study, ought to have shown him that Cæsar did not conquer Gaul in one campaign. Another illusion by which Napoleon was misled during the campaign of Moscow, and perhaps past experience rendered it very excusable, was the belief that the Emperor Alexander would propose peace, when he saw him at the head of his army on the Russian territory. The prolonged stay of Bonaparte at Moscow, can indeed be accounted for in no other way, than by supposing that he expected the Russian cabinet would change its opinion, and consent to treat for peace. However, whatever might have been the reason, after his long and useless stay in Moscow, Napoleon left that city with the design of taking up his winter-quarters in Poland; but Fate now frowned on Napoleon, and in that dreadful retreat, the elements seemed leagued with the Russians to destroy the most formidable army ever

commanded by one chief. To find a catastrophe in history comparable to that of the Beresina, we must go back to the destruction of the legions of Varus.

Notwithstanding the general dismay which prevailed in Paris, that capital continued tranquil, when, by a singular chance, on the very day on which Napoleon evacuated the burning city of Moscow, Mallet attempted his extraordinary enterprise. This general, who had always professed republican principles, and was a man of bold decided character, after having been imprisoned for some time, obtained the permission of government to live in Paris in an hospital-house, situated near the Barrière du Trône. Of Mallet's conspiracy it is not necessary to say much, after the excellent account given of it in the *Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo*.<sup>\*</sup> Mallet's plan was to make it be believed that Bonaparte had been killed at Moscow, and that a new government was established under the authority of the senate. But what could Mallet do? Absolutely nothing; and had his government continued three days, he would have experienced a more favourable chance than that which he ought reasonably to have expected. He asserted that the emperor was dead; but an estafette from Russia would reveal the truth, resuscitate Napoleon, and overwhelm with confusion Mallet and his proclamations. His enterprise was that of a madman. The French were too weary of troubles to throw themselves into the arms of Mallet or his associate Lahorie, who had figured so disgracefully on the trial of Moreau. Yet, in spite of the evident impossibility of success, it must be confessed that considerable ingenuity and address marked the commencement of this silly conspiracy. On the 22d of October Mallet escaped from the hospital-house and went to Colonel Soulier, who commanded the tenth cohort of the national guard, whose barracks were situated exactly behind the hospital-house. So far all went well. Mallet was loaded with a parcel of forged orders, which he had himself prepared. He introduced himself to Soulier, under the name of General La Motte, and said that he came from General Mallet.

Colonel Soulier, on hearing of the emperor's death, was affected to tears. He immediately ordered the adjutant to assemble the cohort, and obey the orders of General La Motte,

<sup>\*</sup> For the account of Mallet's extraordinary conspiracy here alluded to by M. de Bourrienne, the reader is referred to the conclusion of the present chapter.—E. Ed.

to whom he expressed his regret for being himself too ill to leave his bed. It was then two o'clock in the morning, and the forged documents respecting the emperor's death, and the new form of government, were read to the troops by lamp-light. Mallet then hastily set off, with twelve hundred men, to La Force, and liberated the Sieurs Guidal and Lahorie, who were confined there. Mallet informed them of the emperor's death, and of the change of government; gave them some orders, in obedience to which the minister and prefect of police were arrested in their hotel.

I was then at Courbevoie, and I went to Paris on that very morning to breakfast, as I frequently did, with the minister of the police. My surprise may be imagined when I learned from the porter that the Duke de Rovigo had been arrested, and carried to the prison of La Force. I went into the house, and was informed, to my great astonishment, that the ephemeral minister was being measured for his official suit, an act which so completely denoted the character of the conspirator, that it gave me an insight into the business.

Mallet repaired to General Hulin, who had the command of Paris. He informed him that he had been directed by the minister of the police to arrest him, and seal his papers. Hulin asked to see the order, and then entered his cabinet, where Mallet followed him, and just as Hulin was turning round to speak to him, he fired a pistol in his face. Hulin fell: the ball entered his cheek, but the wound was not mortal. The most singular circumstance connected with the whole affair is, that the captain whom Mallet had directed to follow him, and who accompanied him to Hulin's, saw nothing extraordinary in all this. Mallet next proceeded, very composedly, to Adjutant-general Doucet's. It happened that one of the inspectors of the police was there. He recognized General Mallet as being a man under his supervision. He told him that he had no right to quit the hospital-house without leave, and ordered him to be arrested. Mallet, seeing that all was over, was in the act of drawing a pistol from his pocket, but being observed, he was seized and disarmed. Thus terminated this extraordinary conspiracy, of which fourteen lives paid the forfeit; but with the exception of Mallet, Guidal, and Lahorie, all the others concerned in it were either machines or dupes.

This affair produced but little effect in Paris; for the enterprise, and its result, were made known simultaneously. But it was thought droll enough that the minister and prefect of

police should be imprisoned by the men, who, only the day before, were their prisoners. Next day I went to see Savary, who had not yet recovered from the stupefaction caused by his extraordinary adventure. He was aware that his imprisonment, though it had lasted only half an hour, was a subject of merriment to the Parisians.

The emperor, as I have already mentioned, left Moscow on the day when Mallet made his bold attempt, that is to say, the 19th of October. He was at Smolensko when he heard the news. Rapp, who had been wounded before the entrance into Moscow, but who was sufficiently recovered to return home, was with Napoleon when the latter received the despatches containing an account of what had happened in Paris. He informed me that Napoleon was much agitated on perusing them, and that he launched into abuse of the inefficiency of the police. Rapp added, that he did not confine himself to complaints against the agents of his authority. "Is then my power so insecure," said he, "that it may be compromised by a single individual, and a prisoner! It would appear that my crown is not fixed very firmly on my head, if, in my own capital, the bold stroke of three adventurers can shake it. Rapp, misfortune never comes alone; this is the complement of what is passing here. I cannot be every where; but I must go back to Paris; my presence there is indispensable to re-animate public opinion. I must have men and money. Great successes and great victories will repair all. I must set off." Such were the motives which induced the emperor to leave his army. It is not without indignation that I have heard his precipitate departure attributed to cowardice and fear. He was a stranger to such feelings, and was never more happy than on the field of battle. I can readily conceive that he was much alarmed on hearing of Mallet's enterprize. The remarks which he made to Rapp were those which he knew would be made by the public; and he well knew that the affair was calculated to banish those illusions of power and stability with which he endeavoured to surround his government.

On leaving Moscow, Napoleon consigned the wrecks of his army to the care of his most distinguished generals; to Murat, who had so ably commanded the cavalry, but who abandoned the army to return to Naples; and to Ney, the hero rather than the Prince of the Moskowa, whose name will be immortal in the annals of glory, as his death will be eternal in the annals of party revenge. Amidst the general disorder

Eugène, more than any other chief, maintained a sort of discipline among the Italians; and it was remarked, that the troops of the South engaged in the fatal campaign of Moscow, had endured the rigour of the cold better than those troops who were natives of less genial climates.

Napoleon's return from Moscow was not like his returns from the campaigns of Vienna and Tilsit, when he came back crowned with laurels, and bringing peace as the reward of his triumphs. It was remarked that Napoleon's first great disaster followed the first enterprise he undertook after his marriage with Maria-Louisa. This tended to confirm the popular belief, that the presence of Josephine was favourable to his fortune; and superstitious, as he sometimes was, I will not venture to affirm that he himself did not adopt this idea. He now threw off even the semblance of legality in the measures of his government: he assumed arbitrary power, under the impression that the critical circumstances in which he was placed would excuse every thing. But, however inexplicable were the means to which the emperor resorted to procure resources, it is but just to acknowledge that they were the consequence of his system of government, and that he evinced inconceivable activity in repairing his losses, so as to place himself in a situation to resist his enemies, and restore the triumph of the French standard.

But, in spite of all Napoleon's endeavours, the disasters of the campaign of Russia were daily more and more sensibly felt. The King of Prussia had played a part which was an acknowledgment of his weakness in joining France, instead of openly declaring himself for the cause of Russia, which was also his. Then took place the defection of General Yorck, who commanded the Prussian contingent to Napoleon's army. The King of Prussia, though, no doubt, secretly satisfied with the conduct of General Yorck, had him tried and condemned; but shortly after, that sovereign commanded in person the troops which had turned against ours. The defection of the Prussians produced a very ill effect, and it was easy to perceive, that other defections would follow. Napoleon, foreseeing the fatal chances which this event was likely to draw upon him, assembled a privy council, composed of the ministers and some of the grand officers of his household. MM. de Talleyrand and Cambacérès, and the president of the senate were present. Napoleon asked whether, in the complicated difficulties of our situation, it would be most advisable to nego-



tiate for peace or to prepare for a new war. Cambacérès and Talleyrand gave their opinion in favour of peace, which, however, Napoleon would not hear of after a defeat; but the Duke de Feltre, knowing how to touch the susceptible chord in the mind of Bonaparte, said that he would consider the emperor dishonoured, if he consented to the abandonment of the smallest village which had been united to the empire by a *senatus consultum*. This opinion was adopted, and the war continued.

On Napoleon's return to Paris, the pope, who was still at Fontainebleau, determined to accede to an arrangement, and to sign an act, which the emperor conceived would terminate the differences between them. But being influenced by some of the cardinals, who had previously incurred the emperor's displeasure, Pius VII. disavowed the new concordate which he had been weak enough to grant; and the emperor, who then had more important affairs on his hands, dismissed the holy father, and published the act to which he had assented. Bonaparte had no leisure to pay attention to the new difficulties started by Pius VII.; his thoughts were wholly directed to the other side of the Rhine. He was unfortunate, and the powers with whom he was most intimately allied separated from him, as he might have expected, and Austria was not the last to imitate the example set by Prussia. In these difficult circumstances, the emperor, who, for some time past, had observed the talent and address of the Count Louis de Narbonne, sent him to Vienna, to supersede M. Otto; but the pacific propositions of M. de Narbonne were not listened to. Austria would not let slip the fair opportunity of taking revenge without endangering herself.

Napoleon now saw clearly, that since Austria had abandoned him, and refused her contingent, he should soon have all Europe arrayed against him. But this did not intimidate him.

Some of the princes of the Confederation of the Rhine still remained faithful to him; and his preparations being completed, he proposed to resume in person the command of the army, which had been so miraculously reproduced. But before his departure, Napoleon, alarmed at the recollection of Mallet's attempt, and anxious to guard against any similar occurrence, during his absence, did not, as on former occasions, consign the reins of the national government to a council of ministers, presided by the arch-chancellor. He made the Empress Maria Louisa regent, and appointed a council of regency to assist her.

## MALLET'S CONSPIRACY.

"General Mallet was a gentleman of Franche-Comté, descended from an ancient family. Before the revolution, he had served in the musqueteers of the king's household. The part he took in the revolution was sincere, and he professed its principles with great fervour. He was from heart and soul a republican; and he had a head for conspiracies similar to those of which Greek and Roman history has transmitted to us the portraits.

"He rose to the rank of general during the war of the revolution; and long before the emperor ascended the throne, he had obtained a command in the interior. His mind was continually occupied with ideas of government, but he was always faithful to his political principles. It would be too long to relate here the details of a project, nearly similar to the one in question, which he wished to carry into execution while the emperor was in Prussia in 1807. His scheme was then called insane; but, nevertheless, the minister for the police thought it his duty to arrest him. After a long confinement in one of the gaols, he was transferred to what is in Paris called a *Maison de Santé*. In that kind of lock-up house, or prison-hospital, I found him on my appointment to the ministry, and in it I left him. The house is the last on the left in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, near the barrier of the throne.

"Mallet had long been the comrade of Lahorie in the army of the Rhine, and learned that he was at La Force through other prisoners who had been removed to the same *Maison de Santé* in which he was placed. He also knew that Guidal was in La Force: with that general he had been acquainted in the time of the Directory, having met him at the house of the Director Barras, who employed him on particular services. But before proceeding farther with Mallet, I ought to tell by what fatality these two men were still in La Force, from which they ought to have been removed more than a fortnight before, in pursuance of orders which I had given for that purpose.

"Guidal had been arrested at Marseilles for an affair of jacobinism, and brought to Paris for examination. This was done in consequence of the representations of the magistracy of the department of the Var, where tranquillity had been so far menaced that the prefect found it necessary to resort to extraordinary measures. While Guidal was in Paris, inquiries into another affair which occurred at Marseilles led to the discovery of a spy system, which had been established by Frenchmen at a former period on the coast of Provence, for the benefit of the English admiral who cruised before Toulon. Guidal was accused of having visited the English fleet, and of having sent his son on board of it. This

espionnage was carried on for a number of years, without any thing occurring to excite a suspicion of its existence. In consequence of what transpired on the examination of the persons arrested on this charge, application was made for the reconveyance of Guidal to Marseilles, in order to his being tried there; and a fortnight had elapsed since I made the necessary arrangements with the gendarmerie for his removal. The execution of my order was delayed; and consequently Guidal was still in the prison of La Force on the 23d of October.

"It was the same with respect to Laborie. Since Moreau's trial, he had concealed himself in France. The emperor had frequently repeated the order for his departure, but M. Fouché allowed him to remain in Paris. Laborie was a native of Brittany, and easily found protectors. The emperor ordered me to take measures to send him off to America, and as a preliminary step to arrest him. He was arrested accordingly. I lost no time in preparing for his departure; and he was to have been embarked at Nantz on board a vessel bound for the United States. More than a fortnight before, I had signed the papers necessary to authorize his removal to that port; but he remained in La Force, like Guidal, and in consequence of the same negligence.

"Mallet, whose mind was always occupied with his scheme for changing the government, thought he could not have a better opportunity for trying it than the present. The remote situation of the emperor and the armies seemed to smooth the difficulties which environed an enterprise so hazardous; and the success of which so materially depended on a supposition that could not be soon enough contradicted to destroy the credulity which was the leading principle of his plan.

"After meditating on the various means of which he might avail himself for the execution of his project, he fixed on the following: He supposed the emperor killed under the walls of Moscow on the 8th of October; he could not take any other day without incurring the risk of being contradicted by the arrival of the regular courier. The emperor being dead, he concluded that the senate ought to be invested with the supreme authority; and he therefore resolved to address himself in the name of that body to the nation and the army. In a proclamation to the soldiers, he deplored the death of the emperor; in another, after announcing the abolition of the imperial system and the restoration of the republic, he indicated the manner in which the government was to be reconstructed, described the branches into which public authority was to be divided, and named the directors. Attached to the different documents, there appeared the signatures of several senators whose names he recollected, but with whom he had ceased to have any intercourse for a great number of years. These signatures were all written by Mallet; and he drew up a decree in the name of the senate, and signed by the same senators, ap-

pointing himself governor of Paris, and commander of the troops of the first military division. He also drew up other decrees in the same form, which purported to promote to higher ranks all the military officers he intended to make instruments in the execution of his enterprise.

"General Hullin had at this time the command of Paris, and Adjutant-commandant Doucet was the chief of his staff. Mallet, by one of his decrees, continued Doucet, as chief of the staff, raised him to the rank of brigadier-general, and gave him an order for one hundred thousand francs on the public treasury, payable at sight.

"Behind Mallet's *Maison de Santé* were the barracks, which the 10th cohort of the national guard occupied, and which also served as a *dépôt* for the 32d regiment of the line. This 10th cohort was commanded by Colonel Soulier, one of the brave old officers of the army of Italy, but unfortunately as simple as he was brave. He had arrived but a few days before from Spain, and was appointed to the command of the 10th cohort.

"Mallet was married, and his wife lived at a considerable distance from Paris. She came frequently to town to visit him, but never saw any reason to suspect that the planning of any extraordinary enterprise occupied his mind.

"A Spanish priest, who was for some time confined in the same house as Mallet, having been set at liberty, took an apartment for himself in the *Place-Royale*; and there remained with Mallet an abbé, named Lafond, who had been long under arrest on some charge connected with ecclesiastical affairs. Being in company with this abbé all day long, he found it necessary to confide in him. Two young men of Lafond's acquaintance were then in Paris, and he kept up intimate communications with them, but did not disclose the plan. One, a young corporal of the Paris guard, was a native of the same part of the country as the abbé; the other, a young Vendean, was studying law at Paris. The latter being of an intriguing character, became a favourite with Mallet; who, on the day before that which he selected for the execution of his project, directed him to go to the *Palais-Royal*, and purchase a tri-coloured scarf. At the same time he gave him a letter to his wife, in which he directed her to put his uniforms and his arms in his portmanteau, and also the uniform for an aide-de-camp, which had been left with her (probably by design), and to deliver the portmanteau and the key to the bearer.

"In obedience to Mallet's orders, the young Vendean carried the portmanteau to the lodgings of the Spanish priest in the *Place-Royale*. Next day, the 22d, Mallet invited the corporal and the student to dine with him, and the Abbé Lafond; and when the party broke up, he told the two young men to go to the Spanish priest's, and wait for him there.

"At ten at night, after the doors were locked, Mallet and

Lafond let themselves out by the window of their apartment, which was on the ground-floor, and adjacent to the garden. The wall at the end of the garden was not very high, and when they got over it they were in the street. Having accomplished this without creating the least alarm, they proceeded on foot to the Spanish priest's lodgings in the Place-Royale. Mallet sent for punch; and when he saw that the liquor began to operate on the heads of the young men, he spoke to them of his plan as a thing long ago agreed upon between him and the senate, but which was only to be executed in the case of the emperor's death, and of that event he had but just been informed. In this way he imposed upon his two dupes, who knew him to be dissatisfied with the imperial government, but who never before had heard him hint at any thing of the kind he then proposed.

"Mallet showed them the instructions which he said had been sent to him by the committee of the government established at the Luxembourg: his appointment as governor of Paris; a credit granted him to a considerable amount on the treasury; and, finally, an order for the immediate installation of new authorities in the place of those acting under the imperial government. All these documents were of his own fabrication. Without giving his auditors time for reflection, he opened his portmanteau, dressed himself in the uniform of a general-officer, made the young corporal put on the aide-de-camp's uniform, and decked out the young Vendean in the tri-coloured scarf.

"At one o'clock in the morning Mallet left the Spanish priest's apartment, accompanied by only the three persons I have already named, and proceeded to Popincourt-barracks, where the 10th cohort was quartered. Strangers are not admitted into the barracks of Paris during night; Mallet therefore stated that he had particular business with the commanding officer. He was conducted to the unfortunate Soulier, who was then living out of his quarters: he was sick, and was not able to rise to receive Mallet.

"Mallet depended for the success of his enterprise entirely upon the trick he had to play here, and he certainly performed it dexterously. Without giving his name, he entered Soulier's bed-room: the colonel, after apologizing for not getting up, asked the general what commands he had for him. Mallet said, 'I see you are not informed of what has happened; we have had the misfortune to lose the emperor.' On hearing this, Soulier burst into tears; and Mallet, who affected to participate in his grief, proceeded to say, 'The government is changed, and here is the order which General Mallet has this moment given me to deliver to you.'

"Soulier read the paper. It purported to be an order signed by General Mallet, requiring the colonel to muster the cohort under arms, to notify the events which had taken place, and to

follow punctually whatever directions might be given by General Lamotte, who was the bearer of the order, and who had received instructions from the committee of the senate invested with the government. Thus Mallet passed himself off to Soulier as General Lamotte. Soulier saluted the general, sent for the adjutant of his cohort, ordered him to call out the troops, and in the presence of the pretended General Lamotte, expressed his regret at not being able to accompany that officer to the barracks.

"Mallet then proceeded in the character of Lamotte to the square of the barracks, where the troops were drawn up. He made the account of the emperor's death, and the proclamations of the senate to the nation and the army, announcing the change of the government, to be read to the cohort by the light of torches. During all this scene it never struck any individual to question the truth of the facts; but certainly nothing could be more clear than the terms in which Mallet explained every thing.

"The pretended General Lamotte ordered out the cohort, which was one thousand two hundred strong, without requiring the ten thousand reserve ball-cartridges which, according to the practice of the garrison of Paris, were kept in the colonel's quarters, or making the wooden flints be changed which the soldiers put in their muskets for exercise.

"Mallet marched off at the head of the cohort, leaving only a single company in the barracks to accompany Soulier to the Hotel-de-Ville, where the colonel was ordered to wait for him, and to make arrangements for the reception of the government committee. He did not neglect to deliver to the colonel the commission by which he was raised to the rank of brigadier-general, accompanied by an order on the treasury for one hundred thousand francs.

"The 23d of October fell upon a Friday, which was parade-day for the garrison of Paris. Since the emperor's absence the parade had always taken place every day in the Place Vendome. It was necessary for the troops of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine to leave their quarters early, in order to reach the Place Vendome in time. The appearance of the 10th cohort marching on the Friday morning with arms and baggage, therefore, excited no surprise.

"Mallet marched the cohort through the Rue Saint-Antoine to the gate of La Force. He ordered it to be opened, and made Guidal and Lahorie be brought to him. He then ordered the keeper to shut the gate, and to allow no other person to come out. Having embraced Lahorie and Guidal, he informed them of the emperor's death, and what had taken place in consequence of that event. He then said, 'There is no time to be lost. Here are your instructions; take this corps, and execute them. I need only half a company to go with me to take possession of the

government of Paris, where I shall expect to hear from you. We shall meet afterwards at the Hotel-de-Ville.'

"Lahorie took the story of the emperor's death for granted: he had been in the confidence of General Moreau, and knew all his projects; he also remembered the 18th Brumaire, in which he had acted a part. These ideas recurred to his mind, and aided by the appearance of Mallet in his embroidered uniform, and followed by a regular corps, left no room for suspicion. He read the orders, which seemed to come in an official form to him, and took the command of the cohort, leaving only fifty men with Mallet, who hastened to take possession of the prefecture of the police. Mallet found M. Pasquier, who was in the habit of rising early, already at his post. He arrested him, and installed the Vendean student and the Abbé Lafond in his office. Notwithstanding the situation in which the prefect of the police was placed, he found means to send one of his clerks to me to inform me of what was going on. This clerk, however, when he came to my hotel, merely insisted upon seeing me immediately, and said not a word more to any one. As he was known to the porter of the hotel, he might, as a preliminary step, have made the gate be shut. This he did not do; and he was informed of the order I had left, when I went to bed at five in the morning, that I was not to be called except for business of importance. As he came on foot, he was not long at my hotel before General Lahorie, who appeared to have followed close at his heels, and he entered like a shot, as I have already related.

"Lahorie despatched General Guidal, who had accompanied him, to arrest the minister of war; but as the sergeant, who was to have assassinated me, had not kept his word, he ran after Guidal, whom he overtook in the Rue de Saints-Pères, and brought him back to my hotel with his detachment. It was solely owing to this incident that the war-minister missed having an adventure similar to mine.

"On parting with Lahorie at the gate of La Force, Mallet sent by soldiers of the 10th cohort packets to the commanding officers of two regiments of the Parisian paid-guard. These packets contained the same proclamations which had been read to the cohort when he called it out; and besides, minute instructions as to the duty required of the two regiments.

"He ordered one regiment to close all the barriers of Paris, and to allow no person to pass through them. This was done; so that in all the neighbouring towns from which assistance, in case of need, might have been obtained, nothing was known of the transactions in Paris. He sent the other regiment to occupy the bank, the treasury, and different ministerial offices. At the treasury some resistance was made. The minister of that department was on the spot, and he employed the guard of his household

in maintaining his authority. But in the whole of the two regiments of the Paris-guard not a single objection was started to the execution of Mallet's orders.

"While Mallet was thus acting through the agency of others on different points, he proceeded himself along the Rue Saint-Honoré with the party of troops he had reserved for himself. He turned the corner of the street which leads to the Place Vendôme. Here he detached from his troop an officer with twenty-five men, whom he ordered to form in order of battle in front of the office of the staff, which was the house in the angle of the Place Vendôme on the left, and to allow no person to come out.

"He gave the officer a packet to be delivered to Adjutant-general Doucet. The packet contained the documents already described; namely, the proclamation announcing the death of the emperor, the decree of the senate, Mallet's appointment to the office of governor of Paris, and a brigadier-general's commission with an order for one hundred thousand francs to Doucet. To this packet were added instructions, in the form of a confidential letter, in which Mallet expressed great satisfaction at the connection which their relative duties in the public service would now establish between them. He directed Doucet to transmit certain orders to the troops at Saint Denis, Saint-Germain, and Versailles, and also to those in Paris: of the last he only accepted the paid-guard, which he had already employed, and the 10th cohort, to which he had assigned the task of arresting the prefect, and the minister of the police, and also General Hullin. He added, that being aware of the intimate relation subsisting between him and General Hullin, he wished to relieve him from the disagreeable duty of arresting him, and would take that business on himself. At the same time, he warned Doucet to take care that no opposition was made to the arrest; and desired him to detain in front of his office, until further orders, the picket commanded by the officer who was the bearer of the packet.

"Adjutant-general Doucet was in bed when the officer arrived. As the officer refused to communicate with any third person, he was introduced into the bed-room of the adjutant-general, who, suddenly roused from his slumbers, was quite at a loss what to think of the despatch presented to him. He read the documents several times, and asked the officer of the 10th cohort who brought them what had occurred in his barracks. The young man related all that he knew: he had seen his corps called out under arms; had followed Mallet to La Force; had seen Lahorie and Guidal brought out; and had continued on with the rest of the cohort to the Place Vendôme, whence Mallet proceeded to General Hullin, with whom he then was: 'for,' added the officer, 'I can see our



detachment in front of General Hulin's quarters,' And, in fact, it was easy to see the party from the window of M. Doucet's room.

"It was impossible for Doucet to doubt the existence of an enterprise, the details of which Mallet had communicated to him in his instructions. The project, it was true, might be called absurd, but it was acted upon. Of this he could not fail to be assured, both by what he saw, and by what the young officer, who was himself one of the agents, told him : nevertheless, he not only did not stir a step to counteract what was going on, but he completely lost his self-possession, and became alarmed about his responsibility. Mallet had ordered him to arrest M. Laborde, whose activity he doubtless dreaded. Doucet sent for M. Laborde, who had apartments in the same hotel. They were reading the papers together, when Mallet, returning from General Hulin's quarters, entered the room in which they were. He asked Doucet why Laborde was not under arrest, and ordered him to surrender himself. Laborde resisted ; and some discussion arose, which terminated by his leaving the room, saying—' In order to place myself under arrest, I must go hence ; for this is not my apartment.' Going down stairs, he observed the inspector-general of the police, who had come to the office of the garrison-staff in quest of information. The picket of the 10th cohort stationed at the door, in pursuance of the orders which had been given by Mallet, refused him admittance, but Laborde called from the stairs to let him pass. The soldiers, who knew Laborde's person, and had long been accustomed to obey him, readily complied. Laborde told the inspector-general what was going on, and conducted him to Doucet's apartment, where Mallet still was.

"In a moment the scene changed. Mallet could no longer maintain his deception in the presence of the inspector, who, addressing him in a loud tone, said—' Monsieur Mallet, you had no authority to leave the house where you were detained without my permission : ' then turning to Adjutant-general Doucet, he added—' There is something under all this : arrest him in the first place, while I go to the ministry, and get an explanation of the business.' Mallet stood with his back against the fire-place of the room. Finding that all was lost, he grasped a pistol which he had in his coat-pocket. The other three saw the motion he made reflected in the opposite glass, and they immediately seized and disarmed him.

"What had happened at General Hulin's, whither Mallet had been before he came to Doucet, was learned after his arrest.

"Mallet, who was accompanied by a captain of the 10th cohort, asked to speak to General Hulin in private.

"The general came out of his official cabinet to receive him.

Mallet said he had a disagreeable commission to execute, as he was ordered by the minister of the police to arrest him, and put the seals on his papers. General Hulin demanded to see the order; upon which Mallet said, 'Let us go into your cabinet, and I will show it you.' Hulin went first; Mallet, accompanied by the captain of the cohort, followed, with his hand on a pistol which was in his pocket. At the moment Hulin turned round to see the order, Mallet fired the pistol in his face, and he instantly fell. The general was not killed; but the ball, which entered by his cheek, remained in his head, and could not be extracted. Mallet then turned round, and proceeded to Adjutant-general Doucet's, without the captain, who witnessed this transaction, and had become an accomplice in it, not seeming to think it any way extraordinary."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo*, vol. iii. E. Ed.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

Riots in Hamburg and Lubeck—Attempted suicide of M. Konning—Evacuation of Hamburg—Dissatisfaction at the conduct of General Saint Cyr—The cabinets of Vienna and the Tuileries—First appearance of the Cossacks—Colonel Tettenborn invited to occupy Hamburg—Cordial reception of the Russians—Depredations—Levies of troops—Testimonials of gratitude to Tettenborn—Napoleon's new army—Death of General Morand—Remarks of Napoleon on Vandamme—Bonaparte and Gustavus Adolphus—Junction of the corps of Davoust and Vandamme—Re-occupation of Hamburg by the French—General Hogen-dorff appointed governor of Hamburg—Exactions and vexatious contributions levied upon Hamburg and Lubeck—Hostages.

A CONSIDERABLE time before Napoleon left Paris to join the army, the bulk of which was in Saxony, partial insurrections occurred in many places. The interior of old France was indeed still in a state of tranquillity, but it was not so in the provinces annexed by force to the extremities of the empire, especially in the north, and in the unfortunate Hanse Towns, for which, since my residence at Hamburg, I have always felt the greatest interest. The intelligence I received was derived from such unquestionable sources, that I can pledge myself for the truth of what I have to state respecting the events which occurred in those provinces at the commencement of 1813, and subsequently, I obtained a confirmation of all the facts communicated by my correspondents, when I was sent to Hamburg by Louis XVIII., in 1815.

M. Steuve, agent from the court of Russia, who lived at Altona, apparently as a private individual, profited by the irritation produced by the measures adopted at Hamburg. His plans were so well arranged, that he was promptly informed of the route of the grand army from Moscow, and the approach of the allied troops. Aided by the knowledge and activity of *Sieur Hanft*, of Hamburg, M. Steuve profited by the discontent of a people so tyrannically governed, and seized the

opportunity for producing an explosion. Between eight and nine o'clock on the morning of the 24th of February, 1813, an occurrence, in which the people were concerned, was the signal for a revolt. An individual returning to Hamburg by the Altona gate, would not submit to be searched by a fiscal agent, who, in consequence, maltreated him, and wounded him severely. The populace instantly rose, drove away the revenue guard, and set fire to the guard-house. The people also, excited by secret agents, attacked other French posts, where they committed the same excesses. Surprised at this unexpected movement, the French authorities retired to the houses in which they resided. All the respectable inhabitants who were unconnected with the tumult, likewise returned to their homes, and no person appeared out of doors.

General Carra Saint Cyr had the command of Hamburg, after Prince Eckmuhl's departure for the Russian campaign. At the first news of the revolt, he set about packing up his papers; and Count de Chaban, M. Konning, the prefect of Hamburg, and M. Daubignose, the director of police, followed his example. It was not till about four o'clock in the afternoon that a detachment of Danish hussars arrived at Hamburg, and the populace was then speedily dispersed. All the respectable citizens and men of property assembled the next morning, and adopted means for securing internal tranquillity, so that the Danish troops were enabled to return to Altona. Search was then made for the ringleaders of the disturbance. Many persons were arrested, and a military commission, *ad hoc*, was appointed to try them. The commission, however, condemned only one individual, who, being convicted of being one of the most active rioters, was sentenced to be shot; and the sentence was carried into execution.

On the 26th of February, a similar commotion took place at Lubeck. Attempts were made to attack the French authorities. The respectable citizens instantly assembled, protected them against outrage, and escorted them in safety to Hamburg, where they arrived on the 27th. The precipitate flight of these persons from Lubeck spread some alarm in Hamburg. The danger was supposed to be greater than it was, because the fugitives were accompanied by a formidable body of troops.

But these were not the only attempts to throw off the yoke of French domination, which had become insupportable. All the left bank of the Elbe was immediately in a state of insurrection, and all the official persons took refuge in Ham-

burg. During these partial insurrections everything was neglected. Indecision, weakness, and cupidity were manifested everywhere. Instead of endeavours to soothe the minds of the people, which had been long exasperated by intolerable tyranny, recourse was had to rigorous measures. The prisons were crowded with a host of persons declared to be suspected, upon the mere representations of the agents of the police. On the 3d of March, a special military commission condemned six householders of Hamburg, and its neighbourhood, to be shot on the glacis, for no other offence than having been led, either by chance or curiosity, to a part of the town which was the scene of one of the riots. These executions excited equal horror and indignation, and General Carra Saint Cyr was obliged to issue a proclamation for the dissolution of the military commission by whom the men had been sentenced.

The intelligence of the march of the Russian and Prussian troops, who were descending the Elbe, increased the prevailing agitation in Westphalia, Hanover, Mecklenburgh, and Pomerania, and all the French troops cantoned between Berlin and Hamburg, including those who occupied the coast of the Baltic, fell back upon Hamburg. General Carra Saint Cyr and Baron Konning, the Prefect of Hamburg, used to go every evening to Altona. The latter, worn out by anxiety and his unsettled state of life, lost his reason; and on his way to Hamburg, on the 5th of May, he attempted to cut his throat with a razor. His valet-de-chambre saved his life by rushing upon him before he had time to execute his design. It was given out that he had broken a blood-vessel, and he was conveyed to Altona, where his wound was cured, and he subsequently recovered from his derangement. M. Konning, who was a native of Holland, was a very worthy man, but possessed no decision of character, and but little ability.

At this juncture, exaggerated reports were circulated respecting the approach of a Russian corps. A retreat was immediately ordered, and it was executed on the 12th of March. General Carra Saint Cyr having no money for the troops, helped himself to a hundred thousand francs out of the municipal treasury. He left Hamburg at the head of the troops, and enrolled men of the custom-house service. He was escorted by the town guard, which protected him from the insults of the populace; and the good people of Hamburg never had any visitors of whom they were more happy to be rid. Such is a true statement of the facts which came to my knowledge. This sudden retreat excited Napoleon's indignation. He accused General

Saint Cyr of pusillanimity, in an article inserted in the *Moniteur*, and afterwards copied by his order into all the journals. In fact, had General Saint Cyr been better informed, or less easily alarmed, he might have kept Hamburg, and prevented its temporary occupation by the enemy, to dislodge whom it was necessary to besiege the city two months afterwards. Saint Cyr had three thousand regular troops, and a considerable body of men in the custom-house service. General Morand could have furnished him with five thousand men from Mecklenburgh. He might, therefore, not only have kept possession of Hamburg two months longer, but even to the end of the war, as General Lemarrois retained possession of Magdeburg. Had not General Saint Cyr so hastily evacuated the Elbe, he would have been promptly aided by the corps which General Vandamme soon brought from Wesel, and afterwards by the corps with which Marshal Davoust entered Hamburg.

The events just described occurred before Napoleon quitted Paris. In the month of August all negotiation was broken off with Austria, though that power, still adhering to her fallacious policy, continued to protest fidelity to the cause of the Emperor Napoleon, until the moment when her preparations were completed, and her resolution formed. But if there was duplicity at Vienna, was there not folly and blindness in the cabinet of the Tuileries? Could we reasonably rely upon Austria? She had seen the Russian army pass the Vistula, and advance as far as the Saale, without offering any remonstrance. At that moment a single movement of her troops, a word of declaration, would have prevented every thing. As therefore, she would not avert the evil when she might have done so with certainty and safety, there must have been singular folly and blindness in the cabinet who saw this conduct and did not understand it.

I now proceed to mention the further misfortunes which occurred in the North of Germany, and particularly at Hamburg. At fifteen leagues east of Hamburg, but within its territory, is a village named Bergdorff. It was in that village that the Cossacks were first seen. Twelve or fifteen hundred of them arrived there under the command of Colonel Tettenborn. But for the retreat of the French troops amounting to three thousand, exclusive of men in the custom-house service, no attempt would have been made upon Hamburg; but the very name of the Cossacks inspired a degree of terror which must be fresh in the recollection of every one. Alarm spread in

Hamburg, which being destitute of troops and artillery, and surrounded with dilapidated fortifications, could offer no defence. The senator Bartch and Doctor Know took upon themselves to proceed to Bergdorff, to solicit Colonel Tettenborn to take possession of Hamburg, observing, that they felt assured of his sentiments of moderation, and that they trusted he would grant protection to a city which had immense commercial relations with Russia. Tettenborn did not place reliance on these propositions, because he could not suppose that there had been such a precipitate evacuation; he thought they were merely a snare to entrap him, and refused to accede to them. But a Doctor Von Hess, a Swede, settled in Hamburg some years; and known to Tettenborn as a decided partisan of England and Russia, persuaded the Russian commander to comply with the wishes of the citizens of Hamburg. However Tettenborn consented only on the following conditions:—that the old Government should be instantly re-established; that a deputation of senators in their old costume should invite him to take possession of Hamburg, which he would enter only as a free and imperial Hanse Town;—that if those conditions were not complied with, he would regard Hamburg as a French town, and consequently hostile. Notwithstanding the real satisfaction with which the senators of Hamburg received those propositions, they were restrained by the fear of a reverse of fortune. They however determined to accept them, thinking that whatever might happen, they could screen themselves by alleging that necessity had driven them to the step they took. They, therefore, declared their compliance with the conditions, and that night and the following day were occupied in assembling the senate, which had been so long dissolved, and in making the preparations which Tettenborn required.

At four o'clock in the afternoon of the 17th of March, a picquet of Cossacks, consisting of only forty men, took possession of a town recently flourishing, and containing a population of 120,000, but ruined and reduced to 80,000 inhabitants, by the blessing of being united to the French empire. On the following day, the 18th, Colonel Tettenborn entered Hamburg at the head of a thousand regular, and two hundred irregular Cossacks. I have described the military situation of Hamburg when it was evacuated on the 12th of March, and Napoleon's displeasure may be easily conceived. Tettenborn was received with all the honours usually bestowed upon a conqueror. Enthusiasm was almost universal. For several

nights the people devoted themselves to rejoicing. The Cossacks were gorged with provisions and drink, and were not a little astonished at the handsome reception they experienced.

It was not until the expiration of three or four days that the people began to perceive the small number of the allied troops. Their amount gradually diminished. On the day after the arrival of the Cossacks, a detachment was sent to Lubeck, where they were received with the same honours as at Hamburg. Other detachments were sent upon different places, and after four days' occupation there remained in Hamburg only seventy out of the twelve hundred cossacks who had entered on the 18th of March.

The first thing their commander did, was to take possession of the post-office, and the treasuries of the different public-offices. All the moveable effects of the French government and its agents were seized and sold. The officers evinced a true Cossack disregard of the rights of private property. Counts Huhn, Bussenitz, and Venechtern, who had joined Tettenborn's staff, rendered themselves conspicuous by plundering the property of M. Pyronnier, the director of the customs, and M. Gonse, the post-master, and not a bottle of wine was left in their cellars. Tettenborn laid hands upon a sum of money, consisting of upwards of 4000 louis in gold, belonging to M. Gonse, which had been lodged with M. Schwartz, a respectable banker in Hamburg, who filled the office of Prussian consul. M. Schwartz, with whom this money had been deposited for the sake of security, had also the care of some valuable jewels belonging to Mesdames Carra Saint Cyr, and Daubignose; Tettenborn carried off these as well as the money. M. Schwartz remonstrated in his character of Prussian consul, Prussia being the ally of Russia; but he was considered merely as a banker, and could obtain no redress. Tettenborn, like most of the Cossack chiefs, was nothing but a robber and an executioner; but the agent of Russia was M. Steuve, whose name I have already mentioned.

Orders were speedily given for a levy of troops, both infantry and cavalry, to be called Hanseatic volunteers. A man named Hanft, who had formerly been a butcher, raised at his own expense, a company of foot and one of lancers, of which he took the command. This undertaking, which cost him a hundred and thirty thousand francs, may afford some idea of the attachment of the people of Hamburg to the French government. But money, as well as men, was wanting, and a heavy contribution was imposed to defray the expense of



enrolling a number of workmen out of employment, and idlers of various kinds. Voluntary donations were solicited, and enthusiasm was so general, that even servant maids gave their mites. The sums thus collected were paid into the chest of Tettenborn's staff, and became a prey to dishonest appropriation. With respect to this money, a Sieur Oswald was accused of not having acted with the scrupulous delicacy which Madame de Staël attributes to his namesake in her romance of *Corinne*.

Between eight and ten thousand men were levied in the Hanse Towns and their environs, the population of which had been so greatly reduced within two years. These undisciplined troops, who had been for the most part levied from the lowest classes of society, committed so many outrages that they soon obtained the surname of the *Cossacks of the Elbe*; and certainly they well deserved it.

Such was the hatred which the French government had inspired in Hamburg that the occupation of Tettenborn was looked upon as a deliverance. On the colonel's departure the senate, anxious to give him a testimonial of gratitude, presented him with the freedom of the city, accompanied by five thousand gold Fredericks, with which he was doubtless much more gratified than with the honour of the citizenship.

The restored senate of Hamburg did not long survive. The people of the Hanse Towns learned, with no small alarm, that the emperor was making immense preparations to fall upon Germany, where his lieutenants could not fail to take cruel revenge on those who had disavowed his authority. Before he quitted Paris on the 15th of April, Napoleon had enrolled under the banners of the army 180,000 men, exclusive of the guards of honour, and it was evident that with such a force he might venture on a great game, and probably win it. Yet the month of April passed away without the occurrence of any event important to the Hanse Towns, the inhabitants of which vascillated between hope and fear. Attacks daily took place between parties of Russian and French troops on the territory between Lunenburg and Bremen. In one of these rencounters General Morand was mortally wounded, and was conveyed to Lunenburg. His brother having been made prisoner in the same engagement, Tettenborn, into whose hands he had fallen, gave him leave on parole, to visit the general; but he arrived in Lunenburg only in time to see him die.

The French having advanced as far as Haaburg, took up

their position on the Schwartzberg, which commands that little town, and the considerable island situated in that part of the river between Haaburg and Hamburg. Being masters of this elevated point, they began to threaten Hamburg, and to attack Haaburg. These attacks were directed by Vandamme, of all our generals the most redoubtable in conquered countries. He was a native of Cassel, in Flanders, and had acquired a high reputation for severity. At the very time when he was attacking Hamburg, Napoleon said of him at Dresden:—"If I were to lose Vandamme, I know not what I would give to have him back again; but if I had two such generals I should be obliged to shoot one of them." It must be confessed that one was quite enough.

As soon as he arrived, Vandamme sent to inform Tettenborn, that if he did not immediately liberate the brother and brother-in-law of Morand, both of whom were his prisoners, he would burn Hamburg. Tettenborn replied, that if he resorted to that extremity, he would hang them both on the top of St. Michael's Tower, where he might have a view of them. This energetic answer obliged Vandamme to restrain his fury, or at least to direct it to other objects.

Meanwhile, the French forces daily augmented at Haaburg. Vandamme, profiting by the negligence of the new Hanseatic troops, who had the defence of the great islands of the Elbe, attacked them one night in the month of May. This happened to be the very night after the battle of Lutzen, where both sides claimed the victory, and *Te Deum* was sung in the two hostile camps. The advance of the French turned the balance of opinion in favour of Napoleon, who was in fact really the conqueror on a field of battle, celebrated nearly two centuries before by the victory and death of Gustavus Adolphus. The *Cossacks of the Elbe* could not sustain the shock of the French; Vandamme repulsed the troops who defended Wilhelmsburg, the largest of the two islands, and easily took possession of the smaller one, Fiddin, of which the point nearest the right bank of the Elbe is not half a gun-shot distant from Hamburg. The 9th of May was a fatal day to the people of Hamburg. For it was then that Davoust, having formed his junction with Vandamme, appeared at the head of a corps of forty thousand men, destined to reinforce Napoleon's grand army. Hamburg could not hold out against the considerable French force now assembled in its neighbourhood. Tettenborn had, it is true, received a reinforcement of eight hundred Prussians, and two thousand Swedes; but still

what resistance could he offer to Davoust's forty thousand men? Tettenborn did not deceive himself as to the weakness of the allies on this point, or the inutility of attempting to defend the city. He yielded to the entreaties of the inhabitants, who represented to him that further resistance must be attended by certain ruin. He accordingly evacuated Hamburg on the night of the 29th of May, taking with him his Hanseatic legions, which had not held out an hour in the islands of the Elbe, and accompanied by the Swedish Doctor Von Hess, whose imprudent advice was the chief cause of all the disasters to which the unfortunate city had been exposed.

Davoust was at Haaburg, where he received the deputies from Hamburg with an appearance of moderation; and by the conditions stipulated at this conference on the 30th of May, a strong detachment of Danish troops occupied Hamburg in the name of the emperor. The French made their entrance the same evening, and occupied the posts as quietly as if they had been merely changing guard. The inhabitants made not a shadow of resistance. Not a drop of blood was shed; not a threat or an insult was interchanged. This is the truth; but the truth did not suit Napoleon. It was necessary to get up a pretext for revenge, and accordingly recourse was had to a bulletin, which proclaimed to France and Europe that *Hamburg had been taken by main force, with a loss of some hundred men*. But for this imaginary resistance, officially announced, how would it have been possible to justify the spoliations and exactions which ensued!

The Dutch general, Hogendorff, became governor of Hamburg, in the lieu of Carra Saint Cyr, who had been confined at Osnabruck since his precipitate retreat. General Hogendorff had been created one of the emperor's aides-de-camp; but he was neither a Rapp, a Lauriston, nor a Duroc. The following measures were adopted at Hamburg; the inhabitants were required to pay all the arrears due to the different public offices, during the seventy days that the French had been absent; and likewise all that would have been paid to the troops of the garrison, had they remained in Hamburg. Payment was also demanded of the arrears for the quartering of troops who were fifty leagues off. However, some of the heads of the government departments, who saw and understood the new situation of the French at Hamburg, did not enforce these unjust and vexatious measures. The duties on registrations were reduced. M. Peyonnier, director of the customs, aware of the peculiar difficulty of his situation, in a

country where the customs were held in abhorrence, observed great caution and moderation in collecting the duties. Personal examination, which is so revolting and indecorous, especially with respect to females, was suppressed. But these modifications did not proceed from the highest quarter; they were due to the good sense of the agents, who plainly saw that if the empire was to fall, it would not be owing to little infractions in the laws of proscription against coffee and rhubarb.

If the custom-house regulations became less vexatious to the inhabitants of Hamburg, it was not the same with the business of the post-office. The old manœuvres of that department were resumed more actively than ever. Letters were opened without the least reserve, and all the old post-office clerks, who were initiated in these scandalous proceedings were recalled. With the exception of the registrations and the customs, the inquisitorial system, which had so long oppressed the Hanse Towns, was renewed; and yet the delegates of the French government were the first to cry out, "The people of Hamburg are traitors to Napoleon: for, in spite of all the blessings he has conferred upon them, they do not say with the Latin poet, *Deus nobis hæc otia fecit*."

But all that passed was trifling in comparison with what was to come. On the 18th of June was published an imperial decree, dated the 8th of the same month, by virtue of which were to be reaped the fruits of the official falsehood contained in the bulletin above mentioned. To expiate the crime of rebellion, Hamburg was required to pay an extraordinary contribution of forty-eight millions of francs; and Lubec a contribution of six millions. The enormous sum levied on Hamburg was to be paid in the short space of a month, by six equal instalments, either in money, or bills on respectable houses in Paris. In addition to this, the new prefect of Hamburg made a requisition of grain and provisions of every kind, wines, sail-cloth, masts, pitch, hemp, iron, copper, steel, in short every thing that could be useful for the supply of the army and navy.

But while these exactions were made on the property in Hamburg, at Dresden the liberties of individuals and even lives were attacked. On the 15th of June Napoleon, doubtless blinded by the false reports that were laid before him, gave orders for making out a list of the inhabitants of Hamburg who were absent from the city. He allowed them only a fortnight to return home, an interval too short to enable some

of them to come from the places where they had taken refuge. They consequently remained absent beyond the given time. Victims were indispensable: but assuredly it was not Bonaparte who conceived the idea of hostages to answer for the men whom prudence kept absent. Of this charge I can clear his memory. The hostages were, however, taken, and were declared to be also responsible for the payment of the contribution of forty-eight millions. In Hamburg they were selected from among the most respectable and wealthy men in the city: some of them far advanced in age. They were conveyed to the old castle of Haaburg, on the left bank of the Elbe; and these men, who had been accustomed to all the comforts of life, were deprived even of necessities, and had only straw to lie on. The hostages from Lubeck were taken to Hamburg: they were placed between decks on board of an old ship in the port: this was a worthy imitation of the prison ships of England. On the 24th of July there was issued a decree, which was published in the Hamburg Correspondent of the 27th. This decree consisted merely of a proscription list, on which were inscribed the names of some of the wealthiest men in the Hanse Towns, Hanover, and Westphalia.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

Napoleon's second visit to Dresden—Battle of Bautzen—The congress at Prague—Napoleon ill advised—Battle of Vittoria—General Moreau—Rupture of the conferences at Prague—Defection of Jomini—Battles of Dresden and Leipsic—Account of the death of Duroc—An interrupted conversation resumed a year after—Particulars respecting Poniatowski—His extraordinary courage and death—His monument at Leipsic and tomb in the cathedral of Warsaw.

ON the 2d of May Napoleon won the battle of Lutzen. A week after he was at Dresden, not as on his departure for the Russian campaign, like the sovereign of the west, surrounded by his mighty vassals: he was now in the capital of the only one of the monarchs of his creation who remained faithful to the French cause, and whose good faith cost him half of his dominions. The emperor staid only ten days in Dresden, and then went in pursuit of the Russian army, which he came up with on the 19th, at Bautzen. This battle, which was followed on the two succeeding days by the battles of Wurtchen and Ochkirchen, may be said to have lasted three days, a sufficient proof that it was obstinately disputed. It ended in favour of Napoleon, but he and France paid dearly for it: while General Kirschner and Duroc were talking together, the former was killed by a cannon ball, which mortally wounded the latter in the abdomen.

The moment had now arrived for Austria to prove whether or not she intended entirely to betray the cause of Napoleon. All her amicable demonstrations were limited to an offer of her intervention in opening negociations with Russia. Accordingly, on the 4th of June an armistice was concluded at Plesswitz, which was to last till the 8th of July, and was finally prolonged to the 10th of August.

The first overtures after the conclusion of the armistice of

Plesswitz, determined the assembling of a congress at Prague. It was reported at the time that the allies demanded the restoration of all they had lost since 1805; that is to say, since the campaign of Ulm. In this demand Holland and the Hanse Towns, which had become French provinces, were comprehended. But we should still have retained the Rhine, Belgium, Piedmont, Nice, and Savoy. The battle of Vittoria, which placed the whole of Spain at the disposal of the English, the retreat of Suchet upon the Ebro,\* the fear of seeing the army of Spain annihilated, were enough to alter the opinions of those councillors who still recommended war. Notwithstanding Napoleon's opposition, and his innate disposition to acquire glory by his victories, probably he would not have been inaccessible to the reiterated representations of sensible men who loved their country. France therefore has to reproach his advisers. At this juncture General Moreau arrived; it has been said that he came at the solicitation of Bernadotte. This is neither true nor probable. In the first place, there never was any intimacy between Bernadotte and Moreau; and in the next, how can it be imagined that Bernadotte wished to see Moreau emperor! But this question is at once put at rest by the fact, that in the interview at Abo, the Emperor of Russia hinted to Bernadotte the possibility of his succeeding Napoleon. It was generally reported at the time that the French princes of the house of Bourbon had made overtures to Moreau through the medium of General Willot, who had been proscribed on the 18th Fructidor; and I have since learned from an authentic source, that General Moreau, who was then at Baltimore, refused to support the Bourbon cause. Moreau yielded only to his desire of being revenged on Napoleon; and he found death where he could not find glory.†

At the end of July the proceedings of the congress at Prague were no farther advanced than at the time of its assembling. Far from cheering the French with the prospect of a peace, the emperor made a journey to Mentz; the empress went there to see him, and returned to Paris immediately

\* The news of this decisive battle increased the difficulty of the French plenipotentiaries at Prague, and raised the claims of the allies. It also shook the confidence of those who remained faithful to us.

† Having mentioned the name of Moreau, I may take this opportunity of correcting an error into which I fell while speaking of General Lajollais in connection with the conspiracy of Georges, &c. Some papers have fallen into my hands, proving beyond a doubt that General Lajollais was not an accomplice in the conspiracy.

after the emperor's departure. Napoleon went back to Dresden, and the armistice not being renewed, it died a natural death on the 17th of August, the day appointed for its expiration. A fatal event immediately followed the rupture of the conferences. On the 17th of August, Austria, wishing to gain by war, as she had before gained by alliances, declared that she would unite her forces with those of the allies. On the very opening of this disastrous campaign General Jomini went over to the enemy. Jomini belonged to the staff of the unfortunate Marshal Ney, who was beginning to execute, with his wonted ability, the orders he had received. The extraordinary conduct of Jomini excited great astonishment. Public opinion has pronounced judgment upon him.

The first actions were the battle of Dresden, which took place seven days after the rupture of the armistice, and the battle in which Vandamme was defeated and which rendered the victory of Dresden unavailing. I have already mentioned that Moreau was killed at Dresden. Bavaria was no sooner rid of the French troops than she raised the mask and ranged herself among our enemies. In October the loss of the battle of Leipzig decided the fate of France. The Saxon army, which had alone remained faithful to us, went over to the enemy during the battle. Prince Poniatowski perished at the battle of Leipzig in an attempt to pass the Elster.

I will take this opportunity of relating what I know respecting the death of two men who were both deeply and deservedly regretted—Duroc and Poniatowski. Napoleon lamented Duroc, chiefly because he was very useful to him. He, however, wished to make a parade of sensibility, and, after having arranged the tragical scene of Duroc's death, he ordered a picture to be painted, to transmit the recollection of the event to posterity; with this view a suitable story was drawn up for a bulletin. This bulletin contained a high flown account of the loss the emperor had sustained, and the following set phrases were put into the mouth of the dying general. "My life has been devoted to your service, and I regret its loss because it might yet be useful to you. Yes, Sire, we shall one day meet again; but it will be thirty years hence, when you will have triumphed over your enemies and realized all the hopes of your country. I have lived like an honourable man and have nothing to reproach myself with. I leave behind me a daughter; your Majesty will be a father to her." But there is not one word of truth in the bulletin account of Duroc's death. The words which he is said to have uttered



in his last moments were invented like those attributed to Desaix, after the battle of Marengo. I suppose Napoleon borrowed from Homer the idea of making his heroes deliver speeches when at the point of death. The fact is, Duroc suffered the most excruciating agony, and under such circumstances a man is not likely to be very eloquent, or, indeed, inclined to speak much. I remember reading at the time a letter which came by an estafette; it was written by an individual who accompanied the emperor, and was addressed to a minister. The writer desires his friend not to place any reliance on the official account of Napoleon's visit to Duroc. He added, that the latter, being at the moment in great suffering, and finding that the emperor prolonged his visit, turned impatiently on his left side, and said to the emperor, motioning him with his right hand to withdraw, "Ah, Sire, leave me to die quietly."

I will here mention a fact which occurred before Duroc's departure for the campaign of 1812. I used often to visit him at the Pavillon Marsan, where he lodged. One forenoon, when I had been waiting for him a few minutes, he came from the emperor's apartments, where he had been engaged in the usual business. He was in his court-dress. As soon as he entered, he pulled off his coat and hat, and laid them aside:—"I have just had a conversation with the emperor about you," said he. "Say nothing to any body. Have patience, and you will be"..... He had no sooner uttered these words, than a footman entered to inform him that the emperor wished to see him immediately. "Well," said Duroc, "I must go." No sooner was the servant gone, than Duroc stamped violently on the floor, and exclaimed, "That..... never leaves me a moment's rest. If he finds I have five minutes to myself in the course of the morning, he is sure to send for me." He then put on his coat, and returned to the emperor, saying, "Another time you shall hear what I have to tell you."

From that time I did not see Duroc until the month of January, 1813. He was constantly absent from Paris, and did not return until the end of 1812. He was much affected at the result of the campaign, but his confidence in Napoleon's genius kept up his spirits. I turned the conversation from this subject, and reminded him of his promise to tell me what had passed between the emperor and himself relative to me. "You shall hear," said he. "The emperor and I had been playing at billiards, and, between ourselves, he plays very badly. He is nothing at a game which depends on skill.

While negligently rolling his balls about, he muttered these words: 'Do you ever see Bourrienne now?'—'Yes, Sire, he sometimes dines with me on diplomatic reception-days, and he looks so droll in his court-dress, of Lyons manufacture, that you would laugh if you saw him.'—'What does he say respecting the new regulation for the court-dresses?'—'I confess, he says it is very ridiculous; that it will have no other result than to enable the Lyons manufacturers to get rid of their old-fashioned goods; that forced innovations on the customs of a nation are never successful.'—'Oh, that is always the way with Bourrienne; he is never pleased with any thing.'—'Certainly, Sire, he is apt to grumble; but he says what he thinks.'—'Do you know, Duroc, he served me very well at Hamburg. He raised a good deal of money for me. He is a man who understands business. I will not leave him unemployed. Time must hang heavily on his hands. I will see what I can do for him. He has many enemies.'—'And who has not, Sire?'—'Many complaints against him were transmitted to me from Hamburg; but the letter which he wrote to me in his justification, opened my eyes, and I begin to think that Savary had good motives for defending him. Endeavours are made to dissuade me from employing him; but I shall, nevertheless, do so at last. I remember that it was he who first informed me of the near approach of the war which we are now engaged in. I forget all that has been said against him for the last two years, and as soon as peace is concluded, and I am at leisure, I will think of him.'"

After relating to me this conversation, Duroc said, "You must, of course, feel assured that I said all I think of you, and I will take an opportunity of reminding him of you. But we must be patient. Adieu, my dear friend; we must set off speedily, and Heaven knows when we shall be back again!" I wished him a successful campaign, and a speedy return. Alas! I was doomed to see my excellent friend only once again.

Next to the death of Duroc, the loss most sincerely regretted, during the campaign of 1813, was Prince Poniatowski. Joseph Poniatowski, nephew of Stanislas Augustus, King of Poland, was born at Warsaw, on the 7th of May, 1763. At an early age he was remarkable for his patriotic spirit; but his uncle's influence gave him an apparent irresolution, which rendered him suspected by some of the parties in Poland. After his uncle had acceded to the confederation of Targowitz, Poniatowski left the service, accompanied by most of his principal

officers. But when, in 1794, the Poles endeavoured to repulse the Russians, he again repaired to the Polish camp, and entered the army as a volunteer. His noble conduct obtained for him the esteem of his countrymen. Kosciuszko gave him the command of a division, with which he rendered useful services during the two sieges of Warsaw. Immediately after the surrender of that capital, Poniatowski went to Vienna. He refused the offers of Catherine and Paul to bear arms in the service of Russia.

Poniatowski retired to his estate, near Warsaw, where he lived like a private gentleman, until the creation of the grand duchy of Warsaw revived the hopes of the Polish patriots. He then became war-minister. The Archduke Ferdinand having come, in 1809, with Austrian troops, to take possession of the duchy of Warsaw, Poniatowski, who commanded the Polish troops, which were very inferior in numbers to the Austrian force, obliged the latter, rather by dint of skilful manœuvring than by fighting, to evacuate the grand duchy. He pursued them into Galicia as far as Cracow.

After this honourable campaign, he contrived to exercise his functions as minister, until 1812. The war against Russia again summoned him to the head of the Polish army. After taking part in all the events of that war, which was attended by such various chances, Poniatowski was present at the battle of Leipsic. That battle, which commenced on the 14th of October, the anniversary of the famous battle of Ulm, and of Jena, lasted four days, and decided the fate of Europe. Five hundred thousand men fought on a surface of three square leagues.

Retreat having become indispensable, Napoleon took leave, at Leipsic, of the King of Saxony and his family, whom he had brought with him from Dresden. The emperor then exclaimed in a loud voice, "Adieu, Saxons," to the people who filled the market-place, where the King of Saxony resided. With some difficulty, and after passing through many turnings and windings, he gained the suburb of Runstadt, and left Leipsic by the outer gate of that suburb which leads to the bridge of the Elster, and to Lindenau. The bridge blew up shortly after he had passed it, and that event utterly prevented the retreat of the part of the army which was on the left bank of the Elster, and which fell into the power of the enemy. Napoleon was at the time accused of having ordered the destruction of the bridge immediately after he had himself passed it, in order to secure his own personal retreat, as he

was threatened by the active pursuit of the enemy. The English journals were unanimous on this point; and to counteract this opinion, which was very general, an article was inserted in the *Moniteur*.

Before passing the bridge of the Elster, Napoleon had directed Poniatowski, in concert with Marshal Macdonald, to cover and protect the retreat, and to defend that part of the suburb of Leipsic which is nearest to the Borna road. For the execution of these orders he had only two thousand Polish infantry. He was in this desperate situation when he saw the French columns in full retreat, and the bridge so choked up with their artillery and waggons, that there was no possibility of passing it. Then drawing his sword, and turning to the officers who were near him, he said, "Here we must fall with honour." At the head of a small party of cuirassiers and Polish officers, he rushed on the columns of the allies. In this action he received a ball in his left arm: he had already been wounded on the 14th and 16th. He, nevertheless, advanced; but he found the suburb filled with allied troops. He fought his way through them, and received another wound. He then threw himself into the Pleisse, which is before the Elster. Aided by his officers, he gained the opposite bank, leaving his horse in the river. Though greatly exhausted, he mounted another, and gained the Elster by passing through M. Reichenbach's garden, which was situated on the side of that river. The moment was urgent. In spite of the steepness of the banks of the Elster at that part, the prince plunged with his horse into the river: both man and horse were drowned, and the same fate was shared by several officers, who followed Poniatowski's example. Marshal Macdonald was, luckily, one of those who escaped. Five days after, a fisherman drew the body of the prince out of the water. On the 26th of October, it was temporarily interred at Leipsic, with all the honours due to the illustrious deceased. A modest stone marks the spot where the body of the prince was dragged from the river. The Poles expressed a wish to erect a monument to the memory of their countryman in the garden of M. Reichenbach; but that gentleman declared he would do it at his own expense, which he did. The monument consists of a beautiful sarcophagus, surrounded by weeping willows. The body of the prince, after being embalmed, was sent in the following year to Warsaw; and in 1816 it was deposited in the cathedral, among the remains of the kings and great men of Poland. The celebrated Thorwaldsen was com-

missioned to execute a monument for his tomb. Prince Poniatowski left no issue but a natural son, born in 1790. The royal race, therefore, exists only in a collateral branch of King Stanislas, namely, Prince Stanislas, born in 1754.

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## BATTLE OF LEIPSIK.

The following particulars relative to the battle of Leipsic are extracted from Rovigo's Memoirs :

“ The enemy attacked our army on the 18th of October, I believe, in front of Leipsic. The fire was murderous, and prodigies of valour were performed on both sides. But the behaviour of the French troops is truly astonishing, as the oldest corps among them were the cohorts of the national guards, which had only been made moveable and brought into the field since the month of March. The cavalry was entirely composed of recruits. The men and the horses were equally raw and undisciplined. No part of our army was in a good state except the artillery. Nevertheless, whatever might be the advantage derived from the use of this weapon, the army could not long have resisted the vigorous attacks made upon it, had it not been for the presence of the emperor, who showed himself every where.

“ The allies were so numerous, that they scarcely perceived the losses they sustained. Their masses pressed down upon us in every direction; and it was impossible that victory could fail to be with them. Their success, however, would have been less decisive, had it not been for the defection of the Saxons. In the midst of the battle, these troops having moved towards the enemy, as if intending to make an attack, turned suddenly round, and opened a heavy fire of artillery and musketry on the columns by the side of which they had a few moments before been fighting. I do not know in what page of history such a transaction is recorded. This event immediately produced a great difference in our affairs, which were before in a bad enough train. I ought here to mention, that before the battle the emperor dismissed a Bavarian division, which still remained with him. He spoke to the officers in terms which will not soon be effaced from their memory. He told them, that, ‘ according to the laws of war, they were his prisoners, since their government had taken part against him; but that he could not forget the services they had rendered him, and that they were therefore at liberty to return home.’ These troops left the army, where they were much esteemed, and marched for Bavaria.

“ The desertion of the Saxons to the enemy obliged the emperor

to order movements to which he would not otherwise have resorted, especially in so warm an action. These unexpected movements caused disorder, when that calmness and that cool determination by which so much may be done at the decisive moment of a battle, were most wanting. It was now necessary to think of a retreat, which had, indeed, already begun, in consequence of the physical and moral exhaustion of the troops, which had maintained the contest since the morning under marked disadvantages.

“The enemy soon perceived that our troops were retiring; but his attacks were not relaxed. The bridge of Leipsic was the only passage whereby the retreat could be effected; and it is inconceivable how the staff of the army could have neglected to build other bridges. Their construction would have been quite easy, as in such a town as Leipsic materials and workmen would have been found in abundance, if the artificers of the army had been insufficient.

“The Prince de Neufchâtel, declared that he had directed bridges to be prepared; the artillery and engineer departments asserted that they had received no orders. Whether the neglect was in the issuing or the execution of the orders, the consequences were not the less disastrous.

“After nearly the whole of the left, and part of the centre had passed the Elster, the emperor himself crossed. He desired the artillery-officer who had charge of the bridge, for the destruction of which preparation had been made, not to leave the spot, and not to put the match to the train until all the troops had passed over.

“At first, the corps proceeded along the bridge without any disagreeable accident; but such was the disorder, that no one could tell whether or not his column was the last which had to pass. The enemy’s sharpshooters were in advance; the pressure towards the bridge was great, and the confusion became extreme.

“The officer left in charge of the bridge not knowing what was the state of things on the enemy’s side, ran towards a general officer to learn, if possible, from him how far the passage had been effected; but he was carried away by the crowd, and could not return. The artillery-men who were under his command, seeing German troops and Cossacks pushing forward, blew up the bridge without waiting for orders; and thus the right of the army, which kept the enemy’s masses in check, was cut off.

“The report of this unfortunate event soon spread through the ranks. The right was in its turn thrown into disorder, and an escape was sought through fields and marshes. This completed the disaster: the troops were made prisoners of war; and Generals Lauriston and Reynier were taken with them. Prince Joseph Poniatowski, recently made marshal of France, had just at this moment gained the banks of the Elster. Though wounded,

consulting only his courage, he plunged on horseback into the river, where he unfortunately perished. It was impossible to be more brave than was this prince :—impetuous, magnanimous, and always amiable, he was as much esteemed by those against whom he combated, as regretted by the party whom he served.

“ Thus terminated the fatal day of Leipsic : the result of which to France was the loss of a fine and numerous army and all her allies.”—E. Ed.

## CHAPTER XXX.

Amount of the allied forces against Napoleon—Their advance towards the Rhine—Levy of two hundred thousand men—Dreadful situation of the French at Mentz—Declaration of the allies at Frankfort—Diplomatic correspondence—The Duke de Bassano succeeded by the Duke de Vienza—The conditions of the allies vaguely accepted—Caulincourt sent to the head-quarters of the allies—Manifesto of the allied powers to the French people—Gift of thirty millions from the emperor's privy purse—Wish to recal M. de Talleyrand—Singular advice relative to Wellington—The French army recalled from Spain—The throne resigned by Joseph—Absurd accusation against M. Lainé—Adjournment of the legislative body—Remarks of Napoleon reported by Cambacérès.

WHEN the war resumed its course, after the disaster of Leipsic, the allied sovereigns determined to treat with Napoleon only in his own capital, as he, two years before, had refused to treat with the Emperor of Austria, except at Vienna. The latter sovereign now completely raised the mask, and declared to the emperor, that he would make common cause with Russia and Prussia against him. In his declaration he made use of the singular remark, that the more enemies there were against him, there would be the greater chance of speedily obliging him to accede to conditions which would at length restore the tranquillity of which Europe stood so much in need. This declaration on the part of Austria was an affair of no little importance, for she had now raised an army of two hundred and fifty thousand men. An equal force was enrolled beneath the Russian banners, which were advancing towards the Rhine. Prussia had two hundred thousand men; the Confederation of the Rhine, one hundred and fifty thousand: in short, including the Swedes and the Dutch, English troops in Spain and in the Netherlands, the Danes, who had abandoned us, the Spaniards and Portuguese, whose courage and hopes were revived by our reverses, Napoleon had arrayed



against him upwards of a million of enemies. Among them, too, were the Neapolitans, with Murat at their head.

The month of November, 1813, was fatal to the fortune of Napoleon. In all parts the French armies were repulsed, and driven back upon the Rhine, while in every direction the allied forces advanced towards that river. For a considerable time I had confidently anticipated the fall of the empire; not because the foreign sovereigns had vowed its destruction, but because I saw the impossibility of Napoleon defending himself against all Europe; and because I knew that, however desperate might be his fortune, nothing would induce him to consent to conditions which he considered disgraceful. At this time, every day was marked by a new defection. Even the Bavarians, the natural allies of France; they whom the emperor had led to victory, at the commencement of the second campaign of Vienna, they whom he had, as it were, adopted on the field of battle, were now against us, and were the bitterest of our enemies.

Even before the battle of Leipsic, the consequences of which were so ruinous to Napoleon, he had felt the necessity of applying to France for a supply of troops; as if France had been inexhaustible. He directed the empress regent to make this demand; and accordingly Maria Louisa proceeded to the senate, for the first time, in great state: but the glories of the empire were now on the decline. The empress obtained a levy of two hundred and eighty thousand troops; but they were no sooner enrolled, than they were sacrificed. The defection of the Bavarians considerably augmented the difficulties which assailed the wreck of the army that had escaped from Leipsic. They had got before us to Hanau, a town four leagues distant from Frankfort: there they established themselves, with the view of cutting off our retreat; but French valour was roused, the little town was speedily carried, and the Bavarians were repulsed with considerable loss. The French army arrived at Mentz; if, indeed, one may give the name of army to a few masses of men, destitute, dispirited, and exhausted by fatigue and privation. On the arrival of the troops at Mentz, no preparation had been made for receiving them: there were no provisions, or supplies of any kind; and, as the climax of misfortune, contagious diseases broke out amongst the men. All the accounts I received, concurred in assuring me that their situation was dreadful.

However, without counting the wreck which escaped from

the disasters of Leipsic, and the ravages of disease; without including the two hundred and eighty thousand men which had been raised by a *senatus consultum*, on the application of Maria Louisa, the emperor still possessed a hundred and twenty thousand good troops; but they were in the rear, scattered along the Elbe, shut up in fortresses such as Dantzic, Hamburg, Torgau, and Spandau. Such was the horror of our situation, that if, on the one hand, we could not resolve to abandon them, it was at the same time impossible to aid them. In France a universal cry was raised for peace, at whatever price it could be purchased. In this state of things, it may be said that the year 1813 was more fatal to Napoleon than the year 1812. The disasters of Moscow were repaired by his activity, and the sacrifices of France; but the disasters of Leipsic were irreparable.

I shall now speak of some negotiations in which, if I had chosen, I might have taken a part. After the battle of Leipsic, in which France lost, for the second time, a formidable army, all the powers allied against Napoleon declared at Frankfort, on the 9th of November, that they would never break the bonds which united them; that henceforth, it was not merely a continental peace, but a general peace that would be demanded; and that any negotiation not having a general peace for its object, would be rejected. The allied powers declared that France was to be confined within her natural limits, the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. This was all that was to remain of the vast empire founded by Napoleon; but still it must be allowed it was a great deal, after the many disasters France had experienced, when she was menaced with invasion by numerous and victorious armies. But Napoleon could not accede to such proposals, for he was always ready to yield to illusion when the truth was not satisfactory to him.

According to the proposals of the allies at Frankfort, Germany, Italy, and Spain were to be entirely withdrawn from the dominion of France. England recognised the freedom of trade and navigation, and there appeared no reason to doubt the sincerity of her professed willingness to make great sacrifices, to promote the object proposed by the allies. But to these offers a fatal condition was added, namely, that the congress should meet in a town, to be declared neutral, on the right bank of the Rhine, where the plenipotentiaries of all the belligerent powers were to assemble; but "the course of the war was not to be impeded by these negotiations."

The Duke de Bassano, who was still minister for foreign

affairs, replied, by order of Napoleon, to the overtures made by the allies, for a general congress; and stated that the emperor acceded to them, and wished Manheim to be chosen as the neutral town. M. Metternich replied in a note, dated Frankfort, the 25th of November, stating that the allies felt no difficulty in acceding to Napoleon's choice of Manheim, for the meeting of the congress; but as M. de Bassano's letter contained no mention of the general and summary bases I have just mentioned, and which had been communicated to M. de Saint Aignan, at Frankfort, M. Metternich stated, that the allies wished the Emperor Napoleon to declare his determination respecting those bases, in order that insurmountable difficulties might not arrest the negotiations at their very outset. The Duke de Vicenza, who had just succeeded the Duke de Bassano, received this letter. Trusting to the declaration of Frankfort, he thought he would be justified in treating on those bases; he confidently relied on the consent of Napoleon. But the allies had now determined not to grant the limits accorded by that declaration. Caulincourt was therefore obliged to apply for fresh powers, which being granted, he replied, on the 10th of December, that Napoleon accepted the fundamental and summary bases which had been communicated by M. de Saint Aignan. To this letter M. Metternich answered, that the Emperors of Russia and Austria were gratified to find that the Emperor of France recognised the bases judged necessary by the allies; that the two sovereigns would communicate, without delay, the official document to their allies, and that they were convinced, that immediately on receiving their reply, the negotiations might be opened, without any interruption of the war.

We shall now see the reason why these first negotiations came to no result. In the month of October, the allies overthrew the colossal edifice denominated the French Empire. When led by victory to the banks of the Rhine, they declared their wish to abstain from conquests, explained their intentions, and manifested an unalterable resolution to abide by them. This determination of the allies induced the French government to evince pacific intentions. Napoleon wished, by an apparent desire for peace, to justify, if I may so express myself, in the eyes of his subjects, the necessity of new sacrifices; which, according to his proclamations, he demanded only to enable him to obtain peace on as honourable conditions as possible. But the truth is, he was resolved not even to listen to the offers made at Frankfort. He always represented

the limits of the Rhine as merely a compensation for the dismemberment of Poland, and the immense aggrandizement of the English possessions in Asia. But he wanted to gain time, and, if possible, to keep the allied armies on the right bank of the Rhine.

The immense levies made in France, one after the other, had converted the conscription into a sort of press. Men employed in agriculture and manufactures were dragged from their labours; and the people began to express their dissatisfaction of the measures of government more loudly than they had hitherto ventured to do; yet all were willing to make another effort, if they could have persuaded themselves that the emperor would henceforth confine his thoughts to France alone. Napoleon sent Caulincourt to the head-quarters of the allies; but that was only for the sake of gaining time, and inducing a belief that he was favourably disposed to peace.

The allies having learned the immense levies of troops which Napoleon was raising, and being well acquainted with the state of feeling in France, published the famous manifesto, addressed to the French people, which was profusely circulated, and may be referred to as a warning to subjects, who trust to the promises of governments.

The good faith with which the promises in the manifesto were kept, may be judged of from the treaty of Paris. In the mean time the manifesto did not a little contribute to alienate from Napoleon those who were yet faithful to his cause; for, by believing in the declarations of the allies, they saw in him the sole obstacle to that peace which France so ardently desired. On this point, too, the allies were not wrong, and I confess that I did not see without great surprise that the Duke de Rovigo, in that part of his Memoirs, where he mentions this manifesto, reproaches those who framed it for representing the emperor as a madman, who replied to overtures of peace only by conscription levies. After all, I do not intend to maintain that the declaration was entirely sincere; with respect to the future it certainly was not. Switzerland was already tampered with, and attempts were made to induce her to permit the allied troops to enter France by the bridge of Bâle. Things were going on no better in the south of France, where the Anglo-Spanish army threatened our frontiers by the Pyrenees, and already occupied Pampluna; and at the same time the internal affairs of the country were no less critical than its external position. It was in vain to levy troops; every thing essential to an army was wanting.

To meet the most pressing demands, the emperor drew out thirty millions from the immense treasure, which he had accumulated in the cellars and galleries of the Pavillon Marsan at the Tuileries.\* These thirty millions were speedily swallowed up. Nevertheless, it was an act of generosity on the part of Napoleon, and I never could understand on what ground the legislative body complained of the outlay; because, as the funds did not proceed from the budget, there needed no financial law to authorize their application. Besides, why did these rigid legislators, who, while fortune smiled on Bonaparte, dared not utter a word on the subject, demand, previously to the gratuitous gift just mentioned, that the three hundred and fifty millions, in the emperor's privy purse, should be transferred to the imperial treasury, and carried to the public accounts? Why did they wink at the accumulation in the Tuileries of the contributions and exactions levied in conquered countries? The answer is plain; because there would have been danger in opposing it.

Amidst the difficulties which assailed the emperor, he cast his eyes on M. de Talleyrand. But it being required as a condition of his receiving the portfolio of foreign affairs, that he should resign his office of vice-grand-elect, M. de Talleyrand preferred a permanent post to a portfolio, which the caprice of a moment might withdraw. I have been informed that, in a conversation with the emperor, M. de Talleyrand gave him the extraordinary advice of working upon the ambition of the English family of Wellesley; and to excite in the mind of Wellington, the lustre of whose reputation was now dawning, ambitious projects, which would have embarrassed the coalition. Napoleon, however, did not adopt this proposition, the issue of which he thought too uncertain, and, above all, too remote, in the urgent circumstances in which he stood. Caulincourt was then made minister for foreign affairs, in lieu of M. Maret, who was appointed secretary of state; an office much better suited to him.

Meanwhile the emperor was wholly intent on the means of repelling the attack which was preparing against him. The critical circumstances, in which he was placed, seemed to restore the energy of which time had, in some measure robbed him. He turned his eyes towards Spain, and resolved to bring the army from that country, to oppose the allies, whose

\* This hoarding of money shows Napoleon's ignorance of all that relates to finance, since money has no value except in circulation.

movements indicated their intention of entering France by Switzerland. An event occurred connected with this subject, calculated to have a decided influence on the affairs of the moment, namely, the renunciation of Joseph, King of Spain, of all right to the crown, to be followed by the return, as had been agreed on, of Ferdinand to his dominions. Joseph made this sacrifice at the instigation of his brother. The treaty was signed, but an inconceivable delay occurred in its execution; while the torrent, which was advancing upon France, rushed forward so rapidly, that the treaty could not be carried into execution. Ferdinand, it is true, reascended his throne, but from other causes.

On the 19th of December, the legislative body was convoked. It was on a Wednesday. M. Lainé was vice-president under M. Regnier. A committee was appointed to examine and report on the communications of the emperor. The report and conclusions of the committee were not satisfactory; it was alleged that they betrayed a revolutionary tendency, of which M. Lainé was absurdly accused of having been one of the promoters; but all who knew him must have been convinced of the falsehood of the charge. The emperor ordered the report to be seized, and then adjourned the legislative body. Those who attentively observed the events of the time, will recollect the stupor which prevailed in Paris on the intelligence of this seizure, and the adjournment of the legislative body. A thousand conjectures were started, as to what new occurrences had taken place abroad; but nothing satisfactory was learned.

The members of the adjourned legislative body, went, as usual, to take leave of the emperor, who received them on a Sunday, and after delivering to them the speech, which is very well known, dismissed *the rebels* with great ill-humour, refusing to hear any explanation. In after conversations, he said of the legislative body, that "its members never came to Paris but to obtain some favours. They importuned the ministers from morning to night; and complained if they were not immediately satisfied. If they are invited to dinner, they burn with envy at the splendour they see before them." I heard this from Cambacérès, who was present when the emperor made these remarks.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

The flag of the army of Italy and the eagles of 1813—Entrance of the allies into Switzerland—Summons to the minister of the police—My refusal to accept a mission to Switzerland—Interviews with M. de Talleyrand and the Duke de Vicenza—Offer of a dukedom and the grand cordon of the Legion of Honour—Definitive refusal—The Duke de Vicenza's message to me in 1815—Commencement of the siege of Hamburg—Death of Vandamme—A bridge two leagues long—Executions at Lubeck—Scarcity of provisions in Hamburg—Banishment of the inhabitants—Men bastinadoed, and women whipped—Hospitality of the inhabitants of Altona.

I AM now arrived at the most critical period in Napoleon's career. What reflections must he have made, if he had had leisure to reflect; if he had compared the recollections of his rising glory with the sad picture of his falling fortune! What a contrast presents itself when we compare the famous flag of the army of Italy, which the youthful conqueror, Bonaparte, carried to the Directory, with those drooping eagles who had now to defend the aerie whence they had so often taken flight to spread their triumphant wings over Europe! Here we see the difference between liberty and absolute power! Napoleon, the son of liberty, to whom he owed every thing, had disowned his mother, and was now about to fall. Those glorious triumphs were now over, when the people of Italy consoled themselves for defeat, and submitted to the magical power of that liberty which preceded the republican armies. Now, on the contrary, it was to free themselves from a despotic yoke that the nations of Europe had taken up arms, and were preparing to invade France.

With the violation of the Swiss territory by the allied armies, after the consent of the cantons, is connected a fact of great importance in my life, and which, if I had chosen, might

have made a great difference in my destiny. On Tuesday, the 28th of December, I dined with my old friend, M. Pierlot, and, on leaving home, I was in the habit of telling where I might be found in case I should be wanted. At nine o'clock at night an express arrived from the minister of police, desiring me to come immediately to his office. I confess, considering the circumstances of the times, and knowing the emperor's prejudices against me, such a request, coming at such an hour, made me feel some uneasiness, and I expected nothing less than a journey to Vincennes. The Duke de Rovigo, by becoming responsible for me, had as yet warded off the blow, and the supervision to which the emperor had subjected me, thanks to the good offices of Davoust, consisted in going three times a week to show myself to Savary.

I accordingly repaired to the hotel of the minister of the police. I was ushered into a well-lighted room, and when I entered I found Savary waiting for me. He was in full costume, from which I concluded he had just come from the emperor. Advancing towards me with an air which showed he had no bad news to communicate, he thus addressed me : " Bourrienne, I have just come from the emperor, who asked me where you were ? I told him that you were in Paris, and that I saw you often. ' Well,' continued the emperor, ' bid him come to me, I want to employ him. It is three years since he has had any thing to do. I wish to send him as minister to Switzerland, but he must set off directly. He must go to the allies. He understands German well. The King of Prussia expressed by letter satisfaction at his conduct towards the Prussians, whom the war forced to retire to Hamburg. He knows Prince Wittgenstein, who is the friend of the King of Prussia, and probably is at Lorrach.\* He will see all the Germans who are there. I confidently rely on him, and believe his journey will have a good result. Caulincourt will give him his instructions.' "

Notwithstanding my extreme surprise at this communication, I replied without hesitation, that I could not accept the mission ; that it was offered too late. " It, perhaps, is hoped," said I, " that the bridge of Bâle will be destroyed, and that Switzerland will preserve her neutrality. But I do not believe any such thing ; nay, more, I am convinced of the contrary. I can only repeat, the offer comes much too late." — " I am very

\* Lorrach is a village two miles from Bâle, the place fixed on for the starting-point of the Austro-Russian army.



sorry for your resolution," observed Savary, "but Caulincourt will perhaps persuade you. The emperor wishes you to go to the Duke de Vicenza to-morrow at one o'clock; he will acquaint you with all the particulars, and give you your instructions."—"He may acquaint me with whatever he chooses, but I will not go to Lorrach."—"You know the emperor better than I do, he wishes you to go, and he will not pardon your refusal."—"He may do as he pleases, but no consideration shall induce me to go to Switzerland."—"You are wrong: but you will reflect on the matter between this and to-morrow morning. Night will bring counsel. At any rate, do not fail to go to-morrow at one o'clock to Caulincourt, he expects you; and directions will be given to admit you immediately."

Next morning, the first thing I did was to call on M. Talleyrand. I told him what had taken place, and as he was intimately acquainted with Caulincourt, I begged him to speak to that minister in favour of my resolution. M. de Talleyrand approved of my determination not to go to Switzerland, and at one o'clock precisely I proceeded to M. de Caulincourt's. He told me all he had been instructed to say. From the manner in which he made the communication, I concluded that he himself considered the proposed mission a disagreeable one, and unlikely to be attended by any useful result. I observed that he must have heard from Savary, that I had already expressed my determination to decline the mission which the emperor had been pleased to offer me. The Duke de Vicenza then, in a very friendly way, detailed the reasons which ought to induce me to accept the offer; and did not disguise from me, that by persisting in my determination, I ran the risk of raising Napoleon's doubts as to my opinions and future intentions. I replied, that having lived for three years as a private man, unconnected with public affairs, I should have no influence at the head-quarters of the allies, and that whatever little ability I might be supposed to possess, that would not counterbalance the difficulties of my situation, and the opinion that I was out of favour. I added, that I should appear at the head-quarters without any decoration, without even that of the cordon of the Legion of Honour, to which the emperor attached so much importance, and the want of which would almost have the appearance of disgrace; and that these trifles, however slightly valued by reasonable men, were not, as he well knew, without their influence on the men with whom I should have to treat. "If that be all," replied Caulincourt, "the obstacle

will speedily be removed. I am authorized by the emperor to tell you, that he will create you a duke, and give you the grand cordon of the Legion of Honour."

At these words I thought I was dreaming, and I was almost inclined to believe that Caulincourt was jesting with me. However, the offer was serious, and I will not deny that it was tempting; yet I nevertheless persisted in the refusal I had given. At length, after some further conversation, and renewed, but useless, entreaties on the part of M. de Caulincourt, he rose, which was a signal that our interview was terminated. I acknowledge I remained for a moment in doubt how to act, for I felt we had come to no understanding. M. de Caulincourt advanced slowly towards the door of his cabinet. If I went away without knowing his opinion, I had done nothing; addressing him, therefore, by his family name, "Caulincourt," said I, "you have frequently assured me that you would never forget the services I rendered to you and your family, at a time when I possessed some influence. I know you, and therefore speak to you without disguise. I do not now address myself to the emperor's minister, but to Caulincourt. You are a man of honour, and I can open my heart to you frankly. Consider the embarrassing situation of France, which you know better than I do. I do not ask you for your secrets, but I myself know enough. I will tell you candidly, that I am convinced the enemy will pass the Rhine in a few days.\* The emperor has been deceived: I should not have time to reach my destination, and I should be laughed at. My correspondents in Germany have made me acquainted with every particular. Now, Caulincourt, tell me honestly, if you were in my place, and I in yours, and I should make this proposition to you, what determination would you adopt?"

I observed from the expression of Caulincourt's countenance, that my question had made an impression on him, and affectionately pressing my hand, he said, "I would do as you do. Enough. I will arrange the business with the emperor." This reply seemed to remove a weight from my mind, and I left Caulincourt with feelings of gratitude. I felt fully assured that he would settle the business satisfactorily, and in this conjecture I was not deceived, for I heard no more of the matter.

I will here go forward a year to relate another occurrence in which the Duke de Vicenza and I were concerned. When, in

\* I spoke thus to M. de Caulincourt on a Wednesday. On the following Friday the allied troops passed the Rhine.

March, 1815, the king appointed me prefect of police, M. de Caulincourt sent to me a confidential person to inquire whether he ran any risk in remaining in Paris, or whether he had better remove. He had been told that his name was inscribed in a list of individuals, whom I had received orders to arrest. Delighted at this proof of confidence, I returned the following answer by the Duke de Vicenza's messenger: "Tell M. de Caulincourt that I do not know where he lives. He need be under no apprehension: I will answer for him."

During the campaign of 1813 the allies, after driving the French out of Saxony, and obliging them to retreat towards the Rhine, besieged Hamburg, where Davoust was shut up with a garrison of thirty thousand men, resolutely determined to make it a second Sarragossa. From the month of September, every day augmented the number of the allied troops, who were already making rapid progress on the left bank of the Elbe. Davoust endeavoured to fortify Hamburg on so extended a scale, that, in the opinion of the most experienced military men, it would have required a garrison of sixty thousand men to defend it in a regular and protracted siege. At the commencement of the siege Davoust lost Vandamme, who was killed in a sortie at the head of a numerous corps, which was inconsiderately sacrificed. It is but justice to admit that Davoust displayed great activity in his erroneous and useless system of defence: he began by laying in large supplies. General Bertrand was directed to construct a bridge to form a communication between Hamburg and Haarbùrg, by joining the islands of the Elbe to the continent, along a total distance of about two leagues. This bridge was to be built of wood, and Davoust seized upon all the timber-yards to supply materials for its construction. In the space of eighty-three days the bridge was finished. It was a very magnificent structure, its length being two thousand five hundred and twenty-nine fathoms, exclusive of the lines of junction, formed on the two islands.\*

The inhabitants were dreadfully oppressed, but all the cruel measures and precautions of the French were ineffectual; for the allies advanced in great force, and occupied Westphalia,

\* After the general peace, and the final return of the Bourbons to France, the senate of Hamburg caused this bridge to be destroyed, on the ground that it was a dangerous medium of communication with the town. But the enormous expense necessary for keeping the bridge in repair was a consideration which had great weight in the determination of the senate.

which movement obliged the governor of Hamburg to recall to the town the different detachments scattered round Hamburg.

At Lubeck the departure of the French troops was marked by blood. Before they evacuated the town, an old man and a butcher, named Prahl, were condemned to be shot. The butcher's crime consisted in having said, in speaking of the French, "*Der teufel hole sie*" (the devil take them). The old man fortunately escaped his threatened fate; but, notwithstanding the entreaties and tears of the inhabitants, the sentence upon Prahl was carried into execution. The garrison of Hamburg was composed of French, Italian, and Dutch troops. Their number at first amounted to thirty thousand; but sickness made great havoc among them. From sixty to eighty perished daily in the hospitals. When the garrison evacuated Hamburg in May, 1814, it was reduced to about fifteen thousand men.

In the month of December provisions began to diminish, and there was no possibility of renewing the supply. The poor were first of all made to leave the town, and afterwards all persons who were not usefully employed. It is no exaggeration to estimate at fifty thousand the number of persons who were thus exiled. The colonel, commanding the gendarmerie at Hamburg, notified to the exiled inhabitants, that those who did not leave the town within the prescribed time, would receive fifty blows with a cane, and afterwards be driven out. But if penance may be commuted with priests, so it may with gendarmes. Delinquents contrived to purchase their escape from the bastinado by a sum of money; and French gallantry substituted with respect to females the whip for the cane. I saw an order directing all female servants to be examined as to their health, unless they could produce certificates from their masters. On the 25th of December, the governor granted twenty-four hours longer to persons who were ordered to quit the town; and two days after this indulgence, an ordinance was published, declaring that those who should return to the town, after once leaving it, were to be considered as rebels, and accomplices of the enemy, and as such, condemned to death by a prevotal court. But this was not enough. At the end of December, people, without distinction of sex or age, were dragged from their beds, and conveyed out of the town, on a cold night, when the thermometer was between sixteen or eighteen degrees; and it was affirmed that several old men perished in this removal. Those who survived were left on the outside of the Altona gates. At Altona they all found re-

fuge and assistance. On Christmas-day, seven thousand of these unfortunate persons were received in the house of M. Rainville, formerly aide-de-camp to Dumouriez, and who left France together with that general. His house, which was at Holstein, was usually the scene of brilliant entertainments; but it was converted into the abode of misery, mourning, and death. All possible attention was bestowed on the unfortunate outlaws; but few profited by it, and, what is worse, the inhabitants of Altona suffered for their generosity. Many of the unfortunate persons were infected with the epidemic disease, which was raging in Hamburg, and which, in consequence, broke out at Altona.

All means of raising money in Hamburg being exhausted, a seizure was made of the funds of the bank of that city, which yet contained from seven to eight millions of marks. Were those who ordered this measure not aware that to seize on the funds of some of the citizens of Hamburg was an injury to all foreigners who had funds in the bank? Such is a brief statement of the vexations and cruelties which long oppressed this unfortunate city. Napoleon accused Hamburg of Anglomania, and by ruining her he thought to ruin England. Hamburg, feeble, and bereft of her resources, could only complain, like Jerusalem when besieged by Titus: "*Plorans, ploravit in nocte.*"

## CHAPTER XXXII.

Prince Eugène and the affairs of Italy—The army of Italy on the frontiers of Austria—Eugène's regret at the defection of the Bavarians—Murat's dissimulation and perfidy—His treaty with Austria—Hostilities followed by a declaration of war—Murat abandoned by the French generals—Proclamation from Paris—Murat's success—Gigantic scheme of Napoleon—Napoleon advised to join the jacobins—His refusal—Arma-ment of the national guard—The emperor's farewell to the officers—The congress of Châtillon—Refusal of an armistice—Napoleon's character displayed in his negotiations—Opening of the congress—Discussions—Rupture of the conferences.

I SHALL now proceed to notice the affairs of Italy, and the principal events of the viceroyalty of Eugène. In order to throw together all that I have to say relative to the viceroy, I must anticipate the order of time.

After the campaign of 1812, when Eugène revisited Italy, he was promptly informed of the more than doubtful dispositions of Austria towards France. He then made preparations for raising an army capable of defending the country which the emperor had committed to his safeguard. Napoleon was fully aware how much advantage he would derive from the presence, on the northern frontiers of Italy, of an army sufficiently strong to harass Austria, in case she should draw aside the transparent veil which still covered her policy. Eugène did all that depended on him to meet the emperor's wishes; but, in spite of his efforts, the army of Italy was, after all, only an imaginary army to those who could compare the number of men actually enrolled, with the numbers stated in the lists. When, in July, 1813, the viceroy was informed of the turn taken by the negotiations at the shadow of a congress assembled at Prague, he had no longer any doubt of the renewal of hostilities; and foreseeing an attack on Italy, he resolved, as speedily as possible, to approach the frontiers of Austria. He had succeeded

in assembling an army composed of French and Italians, and amounting to forty-five thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry. On the renewal of hostilities, the viceroy's headquarters were at Udina. Down to the month of April, 1814, he succeeded in maintaining a formidable attitude, and in defending the entrance of his kingdom, by dint of that military talent, which was to be expected in a man bred in the great school of Napoleon, and whom the army looked up to as one of its most skilful generals.

During the great and unfortunate events of 1813, all eyes had been fixed on Germany and the Rhine; but the defection of Murat, for a time, diverted attention to Italy. That event did not so very much surprise me; for I had not forgotten my conversation with the King of Naples, in the Champs-Élysées, with which I have made the reader acquainted. At first, Murat's defection was thought incredible by every one, and it highly excited Bonaparte's indignation. Another defection, which occurred about the same period, deeply distressed Eugène; for, though raised to the rank of a prince, and almost a sovereign, he was still a man, and an excellent man. He was united to the Princess Amelia of Bavaria, who was as amiable, and as much beloved, as he; and he had the deep mortification to count the subjects of his father-in-law among the enemies whom he would probably have to combat. Fearing lest he should be harassed by the Bavarians on the side of the Tyrol, Eugène commenced his retrograde movement in the Autumn of 1813. He at first fell back on the Tagliamento, and successively on the Adige. On reaching that river, the army of Italy was considerably diminished, in spite of all Eugène's care of his troops. About the end of November, Eugène learned that a Neapolitan corps was advancing upon upper Italy, part taking the direction of Rome, and part of Ancona. The object of the King of Naples was to take advantage of the situation of Europe, and he was duped by the promises held out to him as the reward of his treason. Murat seemed to have adopted the artful policy of Austria; for not only had he determined to join the coalition, but he was even maintaining communications with England and Austria; while, at the same time, he was making protestations of fidelity to his engagements with Napoleon.

When first informed of Murat's treason by the viceroy, the emperor refused to believe it. "No," he exclaimed to those about him, "it cannot be! Murat, to whom I have given my sister! Murat, to whom I have given a throne! Eugène.

must be misinformed. It is impossible that Murat has declared himself against me!" It was, however, not only possible, but true. Gradually throwing aside the dissimulation beneath which he had concealed his designs, Murat seemed inclined to renew the policy of Italy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when the art of deceiving was deemed by the Italian governments the most sublime effort of genius. Without any declaration of war, Murat ordered the Neapolitan general who occupied Rome to assume the supreme command in the Roman states, and to take possession of the country. General Miollis, who commanded the French troops in Rome, could only throw himself, with his handful of men, into the Castle of St. Angelo, the famous mole of Adrian, in which was long preserved the treasury of Sixtus V.: the French general soon found himself blockaded by the Neapolitan troops, who also blockaded Civita-Vecchia and Ancona.

The treaty concluded between Murat and Austria was definitively signed on the 11th of January, 1814. As soon as he was informed of it, the viceroy, certain that he should soon have to engage with the Neapolitans, was obliged to renounce the preservation of the line of the Adige, the Neapolitan army being in the rear of his right wing. He, accordingly, ordered a retrograde movement on the other side of the Mincio, where his army was cantoned. In this position Prince Eugène, on the 8th of February, had to engage with the Austrians, who had come up with him, and the victory of the Mincio arrested, for some time, the invasion of the Austrian army, and its junction with the Neapolitan troops. It was not until eight days after, that Murat officially declared war against the emperor; and immediately several general and superior officers, and many French troops, who were in his service, abandoned him, and repaired to the head-quarters of the viceroy. Murat made endeavours to detain them: they replied, that as he had declared war against France, no Frenchman who loved his country could remain in his service. "Do you think," returned he, "that my heart is less French than yours? On the contrary, I am much to be pitied. I hear of nothing but the disasters of the grand army. I have been obliged to enter into a treaty with the Austrians, and an arrangement with the English, commanded by Lord Bentinck, in order to save my kingdom from a threatened landing of the English and the Sicilians, which would infallibly have excited an insurrection."

There could not be a more ingenuous confession of the antipathy which Joachim knew the Neapolitans to entertain.



towards his person and government. His address to the French was ineffectual. It was easy to foresee what would ensue. The viceroy soon received an official communication from Napoleon's war-minister, accompanied by an imperial decree, recalling all the French who were in the service of Joachim, and declaring that all who were taken with arms in their hands should be tried by a court-martial as traitors to their country. Murat commenced by gaining advantages which could not be disputed. His troops almost immediately took possession of Leghorn and the citadel of Ancona, and the French were obliged to evacuate Tuscany.

But, to return to the affairs of France at the end of 1813. The defection of Murat overthrew one of Bonaparte's gigantic conceptions. He had planned that Murat and Eugène, with their combined forces, should march on the rear of the allies, while he, disputing the soil of France with the invaders, should multiply obstacles to their advance; the King of Naples and the Viceroy of Italy were to march upon Vienna and make Austria tremble in the heart of her capital before the timid million of her allies, who measured their steps as they approached Paris, should pollute, by their presence, the capital of France. When informed of the vast project, which however was but the dream of a moment, I immediately recognised that eagle glance, that power of discovering great resources in great calamities, so peculiar to Bonaparte.

Napoleon was yet Emperor of France; but he who had imposed on all Europe treaties of peace no less disastrous than the wars which had preceded them, could not now obtain an armistice; and Caulincourt, who was sent to treat for one at the camp of the allies, spent uselessly twenty days at Luneville before he could obtain permission to pass the advanced posts of the invading army. In vain did Caulincourt entreat Napoleon to sacrifice, or at least to resign temporarily, a portion of that glory acquired in so many battles, and which nothing could efface in history. Napoleon replied, "I will sign whatever you wish. To obtain peace I will exact no condition; but I will not dictate my own humiliation." This concession, of course, amounted to a determination not to sign or to grant any thing.

In the first fortnight of January, 1814, one-third of France, was invaded, and it was proposed to form a new congress, to be held at Châtillon-sur-Seine. The situation of Napoleon grew daily worse and worse. He was advised to seek extraordinary resources in the interior of the empire, and was re-

mind of the fourteen armies which rose, as if by enchantment, to defend France at the commencement of the revolution. Finally, a reconciliation with the jacobins, a party who had power to call up masses to aid him, was recommended. For a moment he was inclined to adopt this advice. He rode on horseback through the suburbs of Saint-Antoine and Saint-Marceau, courted the populace, affectionately replied to their acclamations, and he thought he saw the possibility of turning to account the attachment which the people evinced for him. On his return to the palace some prudent persons ventured to represent to him, that instead of courting this absurd sort of popularity it would be more adviseable to rely on the nobility and the higher classes of society:—"Gentlemen," replied he, "you may say what you please, but in the situation in which I stand, my only nobility is the rabble of the faubourgs, and I know of no rabble but the nobility whom I have created." This was a strange compliment to all ranks, for it was only saying that they were all rabble together.

At this time the jacobins were disposed to exert every effort to serve him; but they required to have their own way, and to be allowed freely to excite and foster revolutionary sentiments. The press, which groaned under a most odious and intolerable censorship, was to be wholly resigned to them. I do not state these facts from hearsay. I happened by chance to be present at two conferences, in which were set forward projects infected by the odour of the clubs; and these projects were supported with the more assurance, because their success was regarded as certain. Though I had not seen Napoleon since my departure for Hamburg, yet I was sufficiently assured of his feeling towards the jacobins to be convinced that he would have nothing to do with them. I was not wrong. On hearing of the price they set on their services, he said, "This is too much, I shall have a chance of deliverance in battle; but I shall have none with these furious blockheads. There can be nothing in common between the demagogic principles of ninety-three and the monarchy: between clubs of madmen and a regular ministry; between a committee of public safety and an emperor; between revolutionary tribunals and established laws. If fall I must, I will not bequeath France to the revolutionists, from whom I have delivered her."

These were golden words, and Napoleon thought of a more noble and truly national mode of parrying the danger which threatened him. He ordered the enrolment of the national

guard of Paris, which was placed under the command of Marshal Moncey. A better choice could not have been made; but the staff of the national guard was a focus of hidden intrigues, in which the defence of Paris was less thought about than the means of taking advantage of Napoleon's overthrow. I was made a captain in this guard, and, like the rest of the officers, I was summoned to the Tuileries, on the 21st of January, when the emperor took leave of the national guard, previous to his departure from Paris to join the army. Napoleon entered with the empress. He advanced with a dignified step, leading by the hand his son, who was not yet three years old. It was long since I had seen him. He had grown very corpulent, and I remarked on his pale countenance an expression of melancholy and irritability. The habitual movement of the muscles of his neck was more decided and more frequent than formerly. I shall not attempt to describe what were my feelings during this ceremony, when I again saw, after a long separation, the friend of my youth, who had become master of Europe, and was on the point of sinking beneath the efforts of his enemies. There was something melancholy in this solemn and impressive ceremony. I have rarely witnessed such profound silence in so numerous an assembly. At length, Napoleon, in a voice as firm and sonorous as when he used to harangue his troops, in Italy or in Egypt, but without that air of confidence which then beamed on his countenance, delivered to the assembled officers an address, which was published in all the journals of the time. At the commencement of this address, he said, "I set out this night to take the command of the army. On quitting the capital, I confidently leave behind me my wife and my son, in whom so many hopes are centred." I listened attentively to Napoleon's address, and though he delivered it firmly, he either felt, or feigned emotion. Whether or not the emotion was sincere on his part, it was shared by many present; and, for my own part, I confess, that my feelings were deeply moved when he uttered the words, "I leave behind me my wife and my son." At that moment, my eyes were fixed on the young prince; and the interest with which he inspired me was equally unconnected with the splendour which surrounded, and the misfortunes which threatened him. I beheld in the interesting child not the King of Rome, but the son of my old friend.

It may be worth while to remind those who are curious in comparing dates, that Napoleon, the successor of Louis XVI.,

and who had become the nephew of that monarch, by his marriage with the niece of Marie-Antoinette, took leave of the national guard of Paris on the anniversary of the fatal 21st of January, after twenty-five years of successive terror, fear, hope, glory, and misfortune.

Meanwhile, a congress was opened at Châtillon-sur-Seine, at which were assembled the Duke de Vicenza, on the part of France; Lords Aberdeen, Cathcart, and Stewart, as the representatives of England; Count Razumowsky, on the part of Russia; Count Stadion, for Austria; and Count Humboldt, for Prussia. Before the opening of the congress, the Duke de Vicenza, in conformity with the emperor's orders, demanded an armistice, which is almost invariably granted during negotiations for peace; but it was now too late: the allies had long since determined not to listen to any such demand. They therefore answered the Duke de Vicenza's application, by requiring that the propositions for peace should be immediately signed. But these were not the propositions of Frankfort. The allies established as their basis the limits of the old French monarchy. They conceived themselves authorized in so doing by their success, and by their situation.

To estimate rightly Napoleon's conduct during the negotiations for peace, which took place in the conferences at Châtillon, it is necessary to bear in mind the organization he had received from nature, and the ideas with which that organization had imbued him at an early period of life. If the last negotiations of his expiring reign be examined with due attention and impartiality, it will appear evident that the causes of his fall arose out of his character. I cannot range myself among those adulators who have accused the persons about him with having dissuaded him from peace. Did he not say at St. Helena, in speaking of the negotiations at Châtillon: "A thunderbolt alone could have saved us: to treat, to conclude, was to yield foolishly to the enemy." These words forcibly portray Napoleon's character. It must also be borne in mind how much he was captivated by the immortality of the great names which history has bequeathed to our admiration, and which are perpetuated from generation to generation. Napoleon resolved that his name should resound in ages to come, from the palace to the cottage. To live without fame appeared to him an anticipated death. How often in the days of my intimacy with Bonaparte, has he not said to me, "Who knows the names of those kings who have passed from the thrones on which chance, or birth, seated them? They lived

and died unnoticed. The learned, perhaps, may find them mentioned in old archives, and a medal or a coin dug from the earth may reveal to antiquarians the existence of a sovereign, of whom they had never before heard. But, on the contrary, when we hear the names of Cyrus, Alexander, Cæsar, Mahomet, Charlemagne, Henry IV., and Louis XIV., we are immediately among our intimate acquaintance." I must add, that when Napoleon thus spoke to me in the gardens of Malmaison, he only repeated what had often fallen from him in his youth; for his character and his ideas never varied; the change was in the objects to which they were applied.

From his boyhood Napoleon was fond of reading the history of the great men of antiquity; and what he chiefly sought to discover, was the means by which those men had become great. He remarked, that military glory secures more extended fame than the arts of peace and the noble efforts which contribute to the happiness of mankind. History informs us, that great military talent and victory often give the power, which, in its turn, procures the means of gratifying ambition. Napoleon was always persuaded that that power was essential to him, in order to bend men to his will, and to stifle all discussions on his conduct. It was his established principle never to sign a disadvantageous peace. To him a tarnished crown was no longer a crown. He said one day to M. de Caulincourt, who was pressing him to consent to sacrifices, "Courage may defend a crown, but infamy never." In all the last acts of Napoleon's career, I can retrace the impress of his character, as I had often recognised in the great actions of the emperor the execution of a thought conceived by the general-in-chief of the army of Italy.

On the opening of the congress, the Duke de Vicenza, convinced that he could no longer count on the natural limits of France, promised at Frankfort by the allies, demanded new powers. Those limits were doubtless the result of reasonable concessions, and they had been granted even after the battle of Leipsic; but it was now necessary that Napoleon's minister should show himself ready to make further concessions if he wished to be allowed to negotiate. The congress was opened on the 5th of February, and on the 7th the plenipotentiaries of the allied powers declared themselves categorically. They inserted in the protocol, that after the successes which had favoured their arms, they insisted on France being restored to her old limits, such as they were during the monarchy before

the revolution; and that she should renounce all direct influence beyond her future limits.

This proposition appeared so extraordinary to M. Caulincourt, that he requested the sitting might be suspended, since the conditions departed too far from his instructions to enable him to give an immediate answer. The plenipotentiaries of the allied powers acceded to his request, and the continuation of the sitting was postponed till eight in the evening. When it was resumed, the Duke de Vicenza renewed his promise to make the greatest sacrifices for the attainment of peace. He added, that the amount of the sacrifices necessarily depended on the amount of the compensations, and that he could not determine on any concession or compensation without being made acquainted with the whole. He wished to have a general plan of the views of the allies, and he requested that their plenipotentiaries would explain themselves decidedly respecting the number and description of the sacrifices and compensations to be demanded. It must be acknowledged, that the Duke de Vicenza perfectly fulfilled the views of the emperor in thus protracting and gaining time by subtle subterfuges, for all that he suggested had already been done.

On the day after this sitting, some advantages gained by the allies, who took Châtillon-sur-Marne and Troyes, induced Napoleon to direct Caulincourt to declare to the congress, that if an armistice were immediately agreed on, he was ready to consent to France being restored to her old limits. By securing this armistice, Napoleon hoped that happy chances might arise, and that intrigues might be set on foot; but the allies would not listen to any such proposition.

At the sitting of the 10th of March, the Duke de Vicenza inserted in the protocol, that the last courier he had received had been arrested and detained a considerable time by several Russian general-officers, who had obliged him to deliver up his despatches, which had not been returned to him till thirty-six hours after at Chaumont. Caulincourt justly complained of this infraction of the law of nations and established usage, which, he said, was the sole cause of the delay in bringing the negotiations to a conclusion. After this complaint he communicated to the congress the ostensible orders of Napoleon, in which he authorized his minister to accede to the demands of the allies. But in making this communication, M. de Caulincourt took care not to explain the private and secret instructions he had also received. The allies rejected the armistice,

because it would have checked their victorious advance; but they consented to sign the definitive peace, which of all things was what the emperor did not wish.

In 1813, Napoleon might have obtained the natural limits of France. Why, then, did he not accept them? Why did he allow himself to be driven to the extremity of discussing about the limits of the old monarchy? He wished to have more than the boundary of the Rhine; of this his letter of the 8th of March is a proof. But could he deceive himself respecting the difference of his situation at Frankfort in November, 1813, and at Châtillon in March, 1814; and in spite of the few advantages acquired in his admirable campaign, could he be blind to his future fate? Could he be ignorant that his obstinate delay had forced the allied sovereigns to sign at Chaumont, on the 1st of March, a treaty by which Russia, Austria, Prussia, and England, pledged themselves to continue the war with unrelaxed vigour, until France should be restored to her old limits. Alas! we did not even obtain so much.

Napoleon at length determined to make sacrifices, and the Duke de Vicenza submitted new propositions to the congress. The allies replied, in the same sitting, that these propositions contained no distinct and explicit declaration on the project presented by them on the 17th of February; that having on the 28th of the same month demanded a decisive answer within the term of ten days, they were about to break up the negotiations. Caulincourt then declared verbally—

1st. That Napoleon was ready to renounce all pretension or influence whatever in countries beyond the boundaries of France.

2d. To recognise the independence of Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, and Holland, and that as to England, France would make such concessions as might be deemed necessary in consideration of a reasonable equivalent.

Upon this, the sitting was immediately broken up without a reply. It must be remarked, that this singular declaration was verbal, and consequently, not binding, and that the limits of France were mentioned without being specified. It cannot be doubted that Napoleon meant the limits conceded at Frankfort, to which he was well convinced the allies would not consent; for circumstances were now changed. Besides, what could be meant by the *reasonable equivalent* from England? Is it astonishing that this obscurity and vagueness should have banished all confidence on the part of the plenipotentiaries of the allied powers? Three days after the sitting of the 10th of March,

they declared they could not even enter into a discussion of the verbal protocol of the French minister. They requested that M. de Caulincourt would declare whether he would accept or reject the project of a treaty presented by the allied courts,\* or offer a counter-project.

The Duke de Vicenza, who was still prohibited, by secret instructions, from coming to any conclusion on the proposed basis, inserted in the protocol of the sitting of the 13th of March a very ambiguous note. The plenipotentiaries of the allies, in their reply, insisted upon receiving another declaration from the French plenipotentiary, which should contain an acceptance or refusal of their project of a treaty presented in the conference of the 7th of February, or a counter-project. After much discussion, Caulincourt agreed to draw up a counter-project, which he presented on the 15th, under the following title: "Project of a definitive Treaty between France and the Allies." In this extraordinary project, presented after so much delay, M. de Caulincourt, to the great astonishment of the allies, departed in no respect from the declarations of the 10th of March. He replied again to the ultimatum of the allies, or what he wished to regard as such, by defending a multitude of petty interests, which were of no importance in so great a contest; but in general the conditions seemed rather those of a conqueror dictating to his enemies, than of a man overwhelmed by misfortune. As it may readily be imagined, they were, for the most part, received with derision by the allies.

Every thing tends to prove that the French plenipotentiary had received no positive instructions from the 5th of February, and that, after all the delay which Napoleon incessantly created, Caulincourt never had it in his power to answer, categorically, the propositions of the allies. And why? Because Napoleon never intended to make peace at Châtillon on the terms proposed. He always hoped that some fortunate event would enable him to obtain more favourable conditions.

On the 18th of March, that is to say, three days after the presentation of this project of a treaty, the plenipotentiaries of the allies recorded in the protocol their reasons for rejecting the extraordinary project of the French minister. For my part, I was convinced, for the reasons I have mentioned, that the emperor would never agree to sign the conditions proposed in

\* The conditions of this treaty were, the boundaries of France before the revolution.



the ultimatum of the allies, dated the 13th of March, and I remember having expressed that opinion to M. de Talleyrand. I saw him on the 14th, and found him engaged in perusing some intelligence he had just received from the Duke de Vicenza, announcing, as beyond all doubt, the early signature of peace. Caulincourt had received orders to come to a conclusion. Napoleon, he said, had given him a *carte blanche* to save the capital, and avoid a battle, by which the last resources of the nation would be compromised. This seemed pretty positive, to be sure; but even this assurance did not, for a moment, alter my opinion. The better to convince me, M. de Talleyrand gave me Caulincourt's letter to read. After reading it, I confidently said, "He will never sign the conditions." M. de Talleyrand could not help thinking me very obstinate in my opinion; for he judged of what the emperor would do by his situation, while I judged by his character. I told M. de Talleyrand that Caulincourt might have received written orders to sign, for the sake of showing them to the plenipotentiaries of the allies; but that I had no doubt he had been instructed to postpone coming to a conclusion, and to wait for final orders. I added, that I saw no reason to change my opinion, and that I continued to regard the breaking up of the congress as nearer than appearances seemed to indicate. Accordingly, three days afterwards, the allies grew tired of the delay and the conferences were broken up. Thus Napoleon sacrificed every thing rather than his glory. He fell from a great height, but he never, by his signature, consented to any dismemberment of France.

The plenipotentiaries of the allies, convinced that these renewed difficulties and demands had no other object but to gain time, stated that the allied powers, faithful to their principles, and in conformity with their previous declarations, regarded the negotiations at Chatillon as terminated by the French government. This rupture of the conferences took place on the 19th of March, six days after the presentation of the ultimatum of the allied powers. The issue of these long discussions was thus left to be decided by the chances of war, which were not very favourable to the man who boldly contended against armed Europe. The successes of the allies during the conferences at Chatillon had opened to their view the road to Paris; while Napoleon shrunk from the necessity of signing his own disgrace. In these circumstances was to be found the sole cause of his ruin, and he might have said, "*Tout est perdu, fors la gloire.*" His glory is immortal.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

Curious conversation between General Reynier and the Emperor Alexander—Napoleon repulses the Prussians—The Russians at Fontainebleau—Battle of Brienne—Sketch of the campaign of France—Supper after the battle of Champ-Aubert—Intelligence of the arrival of the Duke d'Angoulême and the Count d'Artois in France—The battle of the Ravens and the Eagle—Battle of Craonne—Departure of the pope and the Spanish princes—Capture of a convoy—Macdonald at the emperor's head-quarters—The inverted cipher.

I WAS always persuaded, and every thing I have since seen has confirmed my opinion, that the allies entering France had no design of restoring the house of Bourbon, or of imposing any government whatever on the French people. They came to destroy and not to found. That which they wished to destroy from the commencement of their success was Napoleon's supremacy; in order to prevent the future invasions with which they believed Europe would still be constantly threatened. If, indeed, I had entertained any doubt on this subject it would have been banished by the account I heard of General Reynier's conversation with the Emperor Alexander. That general, who was made prisoner at Leipzig, was exchanged, and returned to France. In the beginning of February, 1814, he passed through Troyes, where the Emperor Alexander then was. Reynier expressed a desire to be allowed to pay his respects to the emperor, and to thank him for having restored him to liberty. He was received with that affability of manner, which was sometimes affected by the Russian monarch. On his arrival at Paris, General Reynier called at the Duke de Rovigo's, where I had dined that day. He related in my hearing the conversation to which I have alluded, and stated that it had all the appearance of sincerity on the emperor's part. Having asked Alexander whether he had any instructions for Napoleon, as the latter, on learning that he had seen his majesty,

would not fail to ask him many questions, he replied that he had nothing particular to communicate to him. Alexander added that he was Napoleon's friend, but that he had, personally, much reason to complain of his conduct; that the allies would have nothing more to do with him; that they had no intention of forcing any sovereign upon France; but that they would no longer acknowledge Napoleon as Emperor of the French. "For my part," said Alexander, "I can no longer place any confidence in him. He has deceived me too often." In reply to this, Reynier made some remarks, dictated by his attachment and fidelity to Bonaparte. He observed that Napoleon was acknowledged as sovereign of France by every treaty. "But," added Reynier, "if you should persist in forcing him to resign the supreme power, whom will you put in his place?"—"Did you not choose him; why then can you not choose another to govern you? I repeat that we do not intend to force any one upon you: but we will have no more to do with him."

Several generals were then named; and after Reynier had explained the great difficulties which would oppose any such choice, Alexander interrupted him, saying:—"But, General, there is Bernadotte. Has he not been voluntarily chosen Prince Royal of Sweden; may he not also be raised to the same rank in France. He is your countryman; surely then you may choose him, since the Swedes took him though a foreigner." General Reynier, who was a man of firm character, started some objections, which I thought at the time well founded; and Alexander put an end to the conversation by saying, rather in a tone of dissatisfaction:—"Well, General, the fate of arms will decide."

The campaign of France forced Napoleon to adopt a kind of operations quite new to him. He had been accustomed to attack; but he was now obliged to stand on his defence, so that instead of having to execute a previously conceived plan, as when, in the cabinet of the Tuileries, he traced out to me the field of Marengo, he had now to determine his movements according to those of his numerous enemies. When the emperor arrived at Chalons-sur-Marne, the Prussian army was advancing by the road of Lorraine. He drove it back beyond Saint-Dizier. Meanwhile, the grand Austro-Russian army passed the Seine and the Yonne at Montereau; and even sent forward a corps which advanced as far as Fontainebleau. Napoleon then made a movement to the right in order to drive back the troops which threatened to march on Paris; and, by

a curious chance, he came up with the troops in the very place where he passed the boyish years in which he cherished what then seemed wild and fabulous dreams of his future fate. What thoughts and recollections must have crowded on his mind, when he found himself an emperor and a king, at the head of a yet powerful army, in the chateau of the Count de Brienne, to whom he had so often paid his homage! \* It was at Brienne that he said to me, thirty-four years before :—" I will do these Frenchmen all the harm I can." Since then he had certainly changed his mind ; but it might be said that fate persisted in forcing the man to realise the design of the boy in spite of himself. No sooner had Napoleon revisited Brienne, as a conqueror, than he was repulsed and hurried towards his fall, which became every moment more certain.

I shall not enter into any details of the campaign of France, because the description of battles forms no part of my plan. Still I think it indispensable briefly to describe Napoleon's miraculous activity, from the time of his leaving Paris, to the entrance of the allies into the capital. Few successful campaigns have enabled our generals and the French army to reap so much glory as they gained during this great reverse of fortune. For it is possible to triumph without honour, and to fall with glory. The chances of the war were not doubtful ; but certainly, the numerous hosts of the allies could never have counted on so long and brilliant a resistance. The theatre of the military operations soon approached so near to Paris, that the general eagerness for news from the army was speedily satisfied ; and when any advantage was gained by the emperor, his partisans saw the enemy already repulsed from the French territory. I was not for a moment deceived by these illusions, as I well knew the determination and the resources of the allied sovereigns. Besides, events were so rapid and various in this war of extermination, that the guns of the Invalides announcing a victory, were sometimes immediately followed by the distant rolling of artillery, denoting the enemy's near approach to the capital.

The emperor left Paris on the 25th of January, at which time the emperors of Russia and Austria and the King of Prussia were assembled at Langres. Napoleon rejoined his guard at Vitry-le-Français. On the second day after his departure he drove before him the Prussian army, which he had

\* An engagement took place at Brienne ; and Napoleon, with fifteen thousand men, kept eighty thousand Russians in check for twelve hours.

forced to evacuate Saint-Dizier. Two days after this the battle of Brienne was fought; and on the 1st of February between seventy and eighty thousand French and allied troops stood face to face. On this occasion the commanders on both sides were exposed to personal danger; for Napoleon had a horse killed under him, and a Cossack fell dead by the side of Marshal Blücher.

A few days after this battle Napoleon entered Troyes, where he stayed but a short time, and then advanced to Champ-Aubert. At the latter place was fought the battle which bears its name. The Russians were defeated, General Alsufieff was made prisoner, and two thousand men and thirty pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the French. After this battle, the emperor was under such a delusion as to his situation, that while supping with Berthier, Marmont, and his prisoner, General Alsufieff, the emperor said, "Another such a victory as this, gentlemen, and I shall be on the Vistula." Finding that no one replied, and reading in the countenances of his marshals that they did not share his hopes; "I see how it is," he added, "every one is growing tired of war; there is no more enthusiasm. The sacred fire is extinct." Then rising from the table, and stepping up to General Drouot, with the marked intention of paying him a compliment which should at the same time convey a censure on the marshals, "General," said he, patting him on the shoulder, "we only want a hundred men like you, and we should succeed." Drouot replied with great presence of mind and modesty, "Rather say a hundred thousand, Sire." This anecdote was related to me by the two principal persons who were present on the occasion.

Napoleon soon began to have other subjects of inquietude besides the fate of battles. He was aware that since the beginning of February the Duke d'Angoulême had arrived at Saint-Jean-de-Luz, whence he had addressed a proclamation to the French armies in the name of his uncle, Louis XVIII.; and he speedily heard of the Count d'Artois' arrival at Vesoul, on the 21st of February, which place he did not leave until the 16th of March following.

Meanwhile hostilities were maintained with increased vigour over a vast line of operations. How much useless glory did not our soldiers gain in these conflicts! In spite of prodigies of valour the enemy's masses advanced, and approximated to a central point, so that this war might be com-

pared to the battles of the ravens and the eagle in the Alps. The eagle slays hundreds of his assailants, every blow of his beak is the death of an enemy; but still the ravens return to the charge, and press upon the eagle until they destroy him.

As the month of February drew to its close, the allies were in retreat on several points; but their retreat was not a rout. After experiencing reverses they fell back without disorder, and retired behind the Aube, where they rallied and obtained numerous reinforcements, which daily arrived, and which soon enabled them to resume the offensive.

Still Napoleon continued astonishing Europe, leagued as it was against him. At Craonne, on the 7th of March, he destroyed Blücher's corps, in a severe action; but the victory was attended by great loss to the conqueror. Marshal Victor was seriously wounded, as well as Generals Grouchy and Ferrière.

While Napoleon was resisting the numerous enemies assembled to destroy him, it might be said that he was his own enemy, either from false calculation or from negligence with respect to his illustrious prisoners, who, on his departure from Paris, had not yet been sent to their states. The pope was then at Fontainebleau, and the princes of Spain at Valencey. The pope, however, was the first to be allowed to depart. Surely Bonaparte could never have thought of the service which the pope might have rendered him at Rome, into which Murat's troops would never have dared to march had his holiness been present there. With regard to the Spanish princes, Napoleon must have been greatly blinded by confidence in his fortune to have so long believed it possible to retain in France those useless trophies of defeated pretensions. It was, besides, so easy to get rid of the residents of Valencey, by sending them back to the place from whence they had been brought! It was so natural to recal with all speed the troops from the south, when our armies in Germany began to be repulsed on the Rhine, and even driven into France! With the aid of these veteran troops, Napoleon and his genius might have again turned the scale of fortune. But Napoleon reckoned on the nation, and he was wrong; for the nation was tired of him. His cause had ceased to be the cause of France.

The latter days of March were filled up by a series of calamities to Napoleon. On the 23d the rear guard of the French army suffered considerable loss. To hear of attacks

on his rear guard must indeed have been mortifying to Napoleon, whose advanced guards had been so long accustomed to open the path of victory! Prince Schwartzberg soon passed the Aube, and marched upon Vitry and Chalons. Napoleon, counting on the possibility of defending Paris, threw himself, with the velocity of the eagle on Schwartzberg's rear, by passing by Doulevant and Bar-Sur-Aube. He pushed forward his advanced guards to Chaumont and there saw the Austrian army make a movement, which he took to be a retreat; but it was no such thing. The movement was directed on Paris, while Blucher, who had re-occupied Chalons-sur-Marne, marched to meet Prince Schwartzberg, and Napoleon, thinking to cut off their retreat, was himself cut off from the possibility of returning to Paris. Every thing then depended on the defence of Paris; or, to speak more correctly, it seemed possible, by sacrificing the capital, to prolong for a few days the existence of the phantom of the empire which was rapidly vanishing. On the 26th was fought the battle of Fere Champenoise, where valour yielding to numbers, Marshals Marmont and Mortier were obliged to retire upon Sezanne, after sustaining considerable loss.

It was on the 26th of March, and I beg the reader to bear this date in mind, that Napoleon suffered a loss, which, in the circumstances in which he stood, was irreparable. At the battle of Fere Champenoise, the allies captured a convoy, consisting of nearly all the remaining ammunition and stores of the army; a vast quantity of arms, cassoons, and equipage of all kinds. The whole became the prey of the allies, who published a bulletin, announcing this important capture. A copy of this order of the day fell into the hands of Marshal Macdonald, who thought that such news ought immediately to be communicated to the emperor. He therefore repaired himself to the head-quarters of Napoleon, who was then preparing to recover Vitry-le-Français, which was occupied by the Prussians. The marshal, with the view of dissuading the emperor from what he considered a vain attempt, presented him with the bulletin.

This was on the morning of the 27th; Napoleon would not believe the news. "No!" said he to the marshal, "you are deceived, this cannot be true." Then perusing the bulletin with more attention—"Here," said he, "look yourself. This is the 27th, and the bulletin is dated the 29th. You see the thing is impossible. The bulletin is forged!" The marshal,

who had paid more attention to the news than to its date, was astounded. But having afterwards shewn the bulletin to Drouot, that general said, "Alas! marshal, the news is but too true. The error of the date is merely a misprint, the 9 is a 6 inverted!" On what trifles sometimes depend the most important events. An inverted cipher sufficed to flatter Bonaparte's illusion, or, at least, the illusions which he wished to maintain among his most distinguished lieutenants, and to delay the moment when they should discover that the loss they deplored was too certain. On that very day the empress left Paris.



## CHAPTER XXXIV.

The men of the revolution and the men of the empire—The council of regency—Departure of the empress from Paris—Marmont and Mortier—Joseph's flight—Meeting at Marmont's hotel—Capitulation of Paris—Marmont's interview with the emperor at Fontainebleau—Colonels Fabvier and Denys—The royalist cavalcade—Meeting at the hotel of the Count de Morfontaine—M. de Chateaubriand and his pamphlet—Deputation to the Emperor Alexander—Entrance of the allied sovereigns into Paris—Alexander lodged in M. Talleyrand's hotel—Meetings held there—The Emperor Alexander's declamation—My appointment as general post-master.

THE *grande*es of the empire, the first subjects of Napoleon, were divided into two classes, totally distinct from each other. Among these patronized men were many who had been the first patrons of Bonaparte, and had favoured his accession to consular power. This class was composed of his old friends and former companions in arms. The others, who may be called the children of the empire, did not carry back their thoughts to a period which they had not seen. They had never known any thing but Napoleon and the empire, beyond which the sphere of their ideas did not extend ; while among Napoleon's old brothers-in-arms it was still remembered that there was once a country, a France, before they had helped to give it a master. To this class of men France was not confined to the narrow circle of the imperial head-quarters, but extended to the Rhine, the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the two oceans.

On the other hand, numbers of ardent and adventurous young men, full of enthusiasm for Bonaparte, had flown from the school to the camp. They were entirely opposed to Napoleon's downfall, because, with his power would vanish those dreams of glory and fortune which had captivated their imaginations. These young men, who belonged to the class

which I have denominated children of the empire, were prepared to risk and compromise every thing to prolong the political life of their emperor.

The distinction I have drawn between what may be called the men of France and the men of the empire, was not confined to the army, but was equally marked among the high civil functionaries of the state. The old republicans could not possibly regard Napoleon with the same eyes as those whose elevation dated only from Napoleon; and the members of assemblies anterior to the 18th Brumaire, could not entertain the same ideas as those whose notions of national franchises and public rights were derived from their seats as auditors in the council of state. I know not whether this distinction between the men of two different periods has been before pointed out; but it serves to explain the conduct of many persons of elevated rank during the events of 1814. With regard to myself, convinced as I was of the certainty of Napoleon's fall, I conceived that the first duty of every citizen was claimed by his country: and although I may incur censure, I candidly avow that Napoleon's treatment of me during the four last years of his power was not without some influence on my prompt submission to the government which succeeded his. I, however, declare that this consideration was not the sole, nor the most powerful, motive of my conduct. Only those who were in Paris at the period of the capitulation can form an idea of the violence of party feeling which prevailed there both for and against Napoleon, but without the name of the Bourbons ever being pronounced. They were almost unknown to the new generation, forgotten by many of the old, and feared by the conventionalists; at that time they possessed only the frail support of the coteries of the Faubourg St. Germain, and some remains of the emigration. But as it is certain that the emigrants could offer only vain demonstrations and wishes in support of the old family of our kings, they did little to assist the restoration of the Bourbons. Another thing equally certain is, that they alone, by their follies and absurd pretensions, brought about the return of Bonaparte, and the second exile of Louis XVIII. in the following year.

On the 28th of March was convoked an extraordinary council of regency, at which Maria Louisa presided. The question discussed was, whether the empress should remain in Paris, or proceed to Blois. Joseph Bonaparte strongly urged her departure, because a letter from the emperor had directed, that in case of Paris being threatened, the empress-

regent, and all the council of regency, should retire to Blois. The arch-chancellor, and the majority of the council, were of the same opinion; but one of the most influential members of the council observed to Joseph, that the letter referred to had been written under circumstances very different from those then existing; and that it was important the empress should remain in Paris, where she would, of course, obtain from the emperor, her father, and the allied sovereigns, more advantageous conditions than if she were fifty leagues from Paris. The adoption of this opinion would only have retarded, for a few days, a change which had become inevitable; nevertheless it might have given rise to great difficulties. It must be admitted, that for the interests of Napoleon it was the wisest counsel that could be suggested. However, it was over-ruled by Joseph's advice.

On the departure of the empress, many persons expected a popular movement in favour of a change of government; but the capital remained tranquil. Many of the inhabitants, indeed, thought of defence, not for the sake of preserving Napoleon's government, but merely from that ardour of feeling which belongs to our national character. Strong indignation was excited by the thought of seeing foreigners masters of Paris—a circumstance of which there had been no example since the reign of Charles VII. Meanwhile the critical moment approached. On the 29th of March, Marshals Marmont and Mortier fell back to defend the approaches to Paris. During the night the barriers were consigned to the care of the national guard, and not a foreigner, not even one of their agents, was allowed to enter the capital.

At day-break, on the 30th of March, the whole population of Paris was awakened by the report of cannon; and the plain of St. Denis was soon covered with allied troops, who were debouching upon it from all points. The heroic valour of our troops was unavailing against such a numerical superiority. But the allies paid dearly for their entrance into the French capital. The national guard, under the command of Marshal Moncey, and the pupils of the Polytechnic school, transformed into artillery men, behaved in a manner worthy of veteran troops. The conduct of Marmont, on that day alone, would suffice to immortalize him. The corps he commanded was reduced to between seven and eight thousand infantry, and eight hundred cavalry; with whom, for the space of twelve hours, he maintained his ground against an army of fifty-five thousand men, of whom it is said fourteen thousand were

killed, wounded, and taken. Marshal Marmont put himself so forward in the heat of the battle, that a dozen of men were killed by the bayonet at his side, and his hat was perforated by a ball. But what was to be done against overwhelming numbers?

In this state of things the Duke de Ragusa made known his situation to Joseph Bonaparte, who authorised him to negotiate.

Joseph's answer is so important, in reference to the events which succeeded, that I will transcribe it here :

If the Dukes of Ragusa and Treviso can no longer hold out, they are authorised to negotiate with Prince Schwartzberg and the Emperor of Russia, who are before them.

They will fall back on the Loire.

JOSEPH.

Montmartre, March 30, 1814 ;

½ past 12 o'clock.

It was not until a considerable time after the receipt of this formal authority that Marmont and Mortier ceased to make a vigorous resistance against the allied army; for the suspension of arms was not agreed upon until four in the afternoon. It was not waited for by Joseph; at a quarter past twelve, that is to say, immediately after he had addressed to Marmont the authority just alluded to, Joseph repaired to the Bois-de-Boulogne to regain the Versailles road, and from thence to proceed to Rambouillet. The precipitate flight of Joseph astonished only those who did not know him. I know for a fact, that several officers attached to his staff were very dissatisfied at his precipitate flight.

In these circumstances what was to be done but to save Paris, which there was no possibility of defending two hours longer. Methinks I still see Marmont, when, on the evening of the 30th of March, he returned from the field of battle to his hotel in the Rue de Paradis, where I was waiting for him, together with about twenty other persons; among whom were MM. Perregaux and Lafitte. When he entered, he was scarcely recognisable: he had a beard of eight days' growth; the great coat which covered his uniform was in tatters, and he was blackened with powder from head to foot. We considered what was best to be done, and all insisted on the necessity of signing a capitulation. The marshal must recollect, that the exclamation of every one about him was, "France must be saved." MM. Perregaux and Lafitte delivered their opinions in a very decided way; and it will

readily be conceived how great was the influence of two men who were at the head of the financial world. They alleged, that the general wish of the Parisians, which nobody had a better opportunity of knowing than themselves, was decidedly averse to a protracted conflict, and that France was tired of the yoke of Bonaparte. This last declaration gave a wider range to the business under consideration. The question was no longer confined to the capitulation of Paris; but a change in the government was thought of, and the name of the Bourbons was pronounced for the first time. I do not recollect which of us it was who, on hearing mention made of the possible recal of the old dynasty, remarked how difficult it would be to bring about a restoration without retrograding to the past. But I think I am perfectly correct in stating, that M. Lafitte said, "Gentlemen, we shall have nothing to fear if we have a good constitution which will guarantee the rights of all." The majority of the meeting concurred in this wise opinion, which was not without its influence on Marshal Marmont.

During this memorable meeting an unexpected incident occurred. One of the emperor's aides-de-camp arrived at Marmont's. Napoleon being informed of the advance of the allies on Paris, had marched with the utmost speed from the banks of the Marne on the road of Fontainebleau. In the evening he was in person at Froidmanteau, whence he despatched his envoy to Marshal Marmont. From the language of the aide-de-camp it was easy to perceive that the state of opinion at the imperial head-quarters was very different from that which prevailed among the population of Paris. The officer expressed indignation at the very idea of capitulating, and he announced with inconceivable confidence the approaching arrival of Napoleon in Paris, which he yet hoped to save from the occupation of the enemy. The officer informed us that Napoleon trusted to the people rising in spite of the capitulation, and that they would unpave the streets to stone the allies on their entrance. I ventured to dissent from this absurd idea of defence, and I observed, that it was madness to suppose that Paris could resist the numerous troops who were ready to enter on the following day; that the suspension of arms had been consented to by the allies only to afford time for drawing up a more regular capitulation; and that the armistice could not be broken without trampling on all the laws of honour. I added, that the thoughts of the people were directed towards a better future; that the French were

tired of a despotic government, and of the distress to which continual war had reduced trade and industry; "For," said I, "when a nation is sunk to such a state of misery, its hopes can only be directed towards the future; it is natural they should be so directed, even without reflection." Most of the individuals present concurred in my opinion, and the decision of the meeting was unanimous. Marshal Marmont has since said to me, "I have been blamed, my dear Bourrienne: but you were with me on the 30th of March. You were a witness to the wishes expressed by a portion of the principal inhabitants of Paris. I acted as I was urged to do only because I considered the meeting to be composed of men entirely disinterested, and who had nothing to expect from the return of the Bourbons."

Such is a correct statement of the facts which some persons have perverted with the view of enhancing Napoleon's glory. With respect to those versions which differ from mine, I have only one comment to offer, which is, that I saw and heard what I describe.

The day after the capitulation of Paris, Marmont went in the evening to see the emperor at Fontainebleau. He supped with him. Napoleon praised his defence of Paris. After supper the Marshal rejoined his corps at Essonne, and, six hours after, the emperor arrived there to visit the lines. On leaving Paris, Marmont had left Colonels Fabvier and Denys to direct the execution of the capitulation. These officers joined the emperor and the marshal as they were proceeding up the banks of the river of Essonne. They did not disguise the effect which the entrance of the allies had produced in Paris. At this intelligence the emperor was deeply mortified, and he returned immediately to Fontainebleau, leaving the marshal at Essonne.

At day-break on the 31st of March, Paris presented a novel and curious spectacle. No sooner had the French troops evacuated the capital, than the principal streets resounded with cries of "Down with Bonaparte!"—"No conscription!" "No consolidated duties (*droits réunis*)!" With these cries were mingled that of "The Bourbons for ever!" but this latter cry was not repeated so frequently as the others: in general I remarked that the people gaped and listened with a sort of indifference. As I had taken a very active part in all that had happened during some preceding days, I was particularly curious to study what might be called the physiognomy of Paris. This was the second opportunity which had offered

itself for such a study, and I now saw the people applaud the fall of the man whom they had received with enthusiasm after the 18th Brumaire. The reason was, that liberty was then hoped for as it was hoped for in 1814. I went out early in the morning to see the numerous groups of people who had assembled in the streets. I saw women tearing their handkerchiefs, and distributing the fragments as the emblems of the revived lily. That same morning I met on the Boulevards, and some hours afterwards on the Place Louis XV., a party of gentlemen who paraded the streets of the capital proclaiming the restoration of the Bourbons and shouting "Vive le Roi!" and "Vive Louis XVIII.!" At their head I recognized M.M. Sosthènes de la Rochefoucauld, Count de Froissard, the Duke de Luxembourg, the Duke de Crussol, Seymour, &c. The cavalcade distributed white cockades in passing along, and was speedily joined by a numerous crowd who repaired to the Place Vendôme. The scene that was acted there is well known, and the enthusiasm of popular joy could scarcely excuse the fury that was directed against the effigy of the man whose misfortunes, whether merited or not, should have protected him from such outrages. These excesses served, perhaps, more than is generally supposed, to favour the plans of the leaders of the royalist party, to whom M. Neselrode had declared, that before he would pledge himself to second their views, he must have proofs that they were seconded by the population of Paris.

I was afterwards informed by an eyewitness of what took place on the evening of the 31st of March in one of the principal meetings of the royalists, which was held in the hotel of the Count de Morfontaine, who acted as president on the occasion. Amidst a chaos of abortive propositions and contradictory motions, M. Sosthènes de la Rochefoucauld proposed that a deputation should be immediately sent to the Emperor Alexander to express to him the wish of the meeting. This motion was immediately approved, and the mover was chosen to head the deputation. On leaving the hotel, the deputation met M. de Chateaubriand, who had that very day been, as it were, the precursor of the restoration, by publishing his admirable manifesto, entitled "Bonaparte and the Bourbons." He was invited to join the deputation: but nothing could overcome his diffidence and induce him to speak. On arriving at the hotel in the Rue Saint-Florentine, the deputation was introduced to Count Neselrode, to whom M. Sosthènes de la Rochefoucauld briefly explained its object: he spoke of

the wishes of the meeting, and of the manifest desire of Paris and of France. He represented the restoration of the Bourbons as the only means of securing the peace of Europe; and observed, in conclusion, that as the exertions of the day must have been very fatiguing to the emperor, the deputation would not solicit the favour of being introduced to him; but would confidently rely on the good faith of his imperial majesty. "I have just left the emperor," replied M. Neselrode, "and can pledge myself for his intentions. Return to the meeting, and announce to the French people, that in compliance with their wishes his imperial majesty will use all his influence to restore the crown to the legitimate monarch: his Majesty, Louis XVIII., shall re-ascend the throne of France." With this gratifying intelligence, the deputation returned to the meeting in the Rue d'Anjou.

There is no question that great enthusiasm was displayed on the entrance of the allies into Paris. It may be approved or blamed; but the fact cannot be denied. I closely watched all that was passing, and I observed the expression of a sentiment which I had long anticipated, when, after his alliance with the daughter of the Cæsars, the ambition of Bonaparte increased in proportion as it was gratified; I clearly foresaw Napoleon's fall. Whoever watched the course of events during the four last years of the empire must have observed, as I did, that from the date of Napoleon's marriage with Maria-Louisa, the forms of the French government became daily more and more tyrannical and oppressive. The intolerable height which this evil had attained is evident from the circumstance, that at the end of 1813, the legislative body, throwing aside the mute character which it had hitherto maintained, presumed to give a lesson to him who had never before received a lesson from any one. On the 31st of March, it was recollected what had been the conduct of Bonaparte on the occasion just alluded to, and those of the deputies who remained in Paris, related how the gendarmes had opposed their entrance into the hall of the assembly. All this contributed wonderfully to irritate the public mind against Napoleon. He had become master of France by the sword, and the sword being sheathed, his power was at an end; for no popular institution identified with the nation the new dynasty which he hoped to found. The nation admired, but did not love Napoleon; for it is impossible to love what is feared, and he had done nothing to claim the affection of France.

I was present at all the meetings and conferences which



were held at M. de Talleyrand's hotel, where the Emperor Alexander had taken up his residence. Of all the persons present at these meetings, M. de Talleyrand was most disposed to retain Napoleon at the head of the government, with restrictions on the exercise of his power. In the existing state of things, it was only possible to choose one of three courses: first, to make peace with Napoleon, with the adoption of proper securities against him; second, to establish a regency; and third, to recal the Bourbons.

On the 13th of March, I witnessed the entrance of the allied sovereigns into Paris; and after the procession had passed the Rue Neuve du Luxembourg, I repaired straight to M. de Talleyrand's hotel, which I reached before the Emperor Alexander, who arrived at a quarter past one. When his imperial majesty entered M. de Talleyrand's drawing-room, most of the persons assembled, and particularly the Abbé de Pradt, the Abbé de Montesquiou, and General Dessolles, urgently demanded the restoration of the Bourbons. The emperor did not come to any immediate decision. Drawing me into the embrasure of a window, which looked to the street, he made some observations, which enabled me to guess what would be his determination:—"M. de Bourrienne," said he, "you have been the friend of Napoleon, and so have I. I was his sincere friend; but there is no possibility of remaining at peace with a man of such bad faith. We must have done with him." These last words opened my eyes; and when the different propositions which were made came under discussion, I saw plainly that Bonaparte, in making himself emperor, had made up the bed for the Bourbons.

A discussion ensued on the three possible measures which I have above mentioned, and which were proposed by the Emperor Alexander himself. I thought, if I may so express myself, that his majesty was playing a part, when, pretending to doubt the possibility of recalling the Bourbons, which he wished above all things, he asked M. de Talleyrand what means he proposed to employ for the attainment of that object? Besides the French, there were present at this meeting, the Emperor Alexander, the King of Prussia, Prince Schwartzemberg, M. Nesselrode, M. Pozzo-di-Borgo, and Prince Lichtenstein. During the discussion, Alexander walked about with some appearance of agitation:—"Gentlemen," said he, addressing us in an elevated tone of voice, "you know that it was not I who commenced the war;

you know that Napoleon came to attack me in my dominions. But we are not drawn here by the thirst of conquest, or the desire of revenge. You have seen the precautions I have taken to preserve your capital, the wonder of the arts, from the horrors of pillage, to which the chances of war would have consigned it. Neither my allies nor myself are engaged in a war of reprisals; and I should be inconsolable if any violence were committed on your magnificent city. We are not waging war against France; but against Napoleon, and the enemies of French liberty. William, and you Prince (here the emperor turned towards the King of Prussia and Prince Schwartzberg, who represented the Emperor of Austria), you can both bear testimony that the sentiments I express are yours." Both bowed assent to this observation of Alexander, which his majesty several times repeated in different words. He insisted that France should be perfectly free; and declared, that as soon as the wishes of the country were understood, he and his allies would support them, without seeking to favour any particular government.

The Abbé de Pradt then declared, in a tone of conviction, that we were all royalists, and that the sentiments of France concurred with ours. The Emperor Alexander, adverting to the different governments which might be suitable to France, spoke of the maintenance of Bonaparte on the throne, the establishment of a regency, the choice of Bernadotte, and the recal of the Bourbons. M. de Talleyrand next spoke, and I well remember his saying to the Emperor of Russia, "Sire, only one of two things is possible. We must either have Bonaparte or Louis XVIII. Bonaparte, if you can support him; but you cannot, for you are not alone. . . . We will not have another soldier in his stead. If we want a soldier, we will keep the one we have; he is the first in the world. After him any other who may be proposed, would not have ten men to support him. I say again, Sire, either Bonaparte or Louis XVIII. Any thing else is an intrigue." These remarkable words of the Prince de Benevento, produced on the mind of Alexander all the effect we could hope for. Thus, the question was simplified; that it is to say, it became twofold instead of threefold; and, as it was evident that Alexander would have nothing to do with either Napoleon or his family, it was reduced to the single proposition of the restoration of the Bourbons. On being pressed by us all, with the exception of M. de Talleyrand, who still wished to leave the

question undecided between Bonaparte and Louis XVIII., Alexander at length declared, that he would no longer treat with Napoleon. When it was represented to him that that declaration referred only to Napoleon personally, and did not extend to his family: he added, "Nor with any member of his family." Thus, as early as the 31st of March, the restoration of the Bourbons might be considered as decided. Of all the propositions which were then agitated, the most mischievous appeared to me that which would have for its object a regency. In that hypothesis, every thing would have been kept in suspense.

At the close of the meeting, the Emperor Alexander signed the following declaration :

If the conditions of peace required strong guarantees, when the object was to restrain the ambition of Bonaparte, they ought to be more favourable when, by a return to a wise government, France herself shall offer the assurance of repose. The sovereigns proclaim, that they will no longer treat with Bonaparte, nor with any member of his family. They respect the integrity of the French territory, as it existed under the legitimate monarchy : they may even go further, since they adopt the principle that France must be great and powerful. They will recognise and guarantee any constitution of which the French nation may make choice. They consequently invite the senate immediately to appoint a provisional government, to manage the business of the state, and to prepare the constitution which may be agreeable to the wishes of the people. The sentiments herein expressed are shared by all the allied powers.

I cannot omit mentioning the hurry with which Laborie, whom M. de Talleyrand appointed secretary to the provisional government, rushed out of the apartment as soon as he got possession of the Emperor Alexander's declaration. He got it printed with such expedition, that in the space of an hour it was posted on all the walls in Paris ; and it certainly produced an extraordinary effect. As yet nothing warranted a doubt that Alexander would not abide by his word. The treaty of Paris could not be anticipated ; and there was reason to believe that France, with a new government, would obtain more advantageous conditions, than if the allies had treated with Napoleon. But this illusion speedily vanished.

On the evening of the 31st of March, I returned to M. de Talleyrand's. I again saw the Emperor Alexander, who, stepping up to me, said, "M. de Bourrienne, you

must take the superintendence of the post-office department." I could not decline this precise invitation on the part of the emperor ; and besides, Lavalette having departed on the preceding day, the business would have been, for a time, suspended ; a circumstance which would have been extremely prejudicial to the restoration which we wished to favour.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

Composition of the provisional government—Mistake respecting the conduct of the Emperor of Austria—Caulincourt's mission from Napoleon—His interview with the Emperor Alexander—Alexander's address to the deputation of the senate—M. de Caulincourt ordered to quit the capital—Situation of Bonaparte during the events of the 30th and 31st of March—His arrival at Fontainebleau—Plan of attacking Paris—Arrival of troops at Fontainebleau—The emperor's address to the guard—Forfeiture pronounced by the senate—Letters to Marmont—Correspondence between Marmont and Schwartzberg—Macdonald informed of the occupation of Paris—Conversation between the emperor and Macdonald at Fontainebleau—Beurnonville's letter—Abdication on condition of a regency—Napoleon's wish to retract his act of abdication—Macdonald, Ney, and Caulincourt sent to Paris—Marmont released from his promise by Prince Schwartzberg.

THE most important point to be obtained from the Emperor Alexander, was the declaration noticed in the preceding chapter. After that it was obvious that all the rest would naturally follow. A provisional government was established, of which M. de Talleyrand was appointed president. The other members were General Beurnonville, Count François de Jaucourt, the Duke Dalberg, who had married one of Maria Louisa's ladies of honour, and the Abbé de Montesquiou. The place of chancellor of the Legion of Honour was given to the Abbé de Pradt. Thus there were two abbés among the members of the provisional government, and by a singular chance they happened to be the same who had officiated at the mass which was performed in the Champ de Mars on the day of the first federation.

Those who were dissatisfied with the events of the 31st of March, now saw no hope but in the possibility that the Emperor of Austria would separate from his allies, or at least not make common cause with them in favour of the re-establishment of the Bourbons. But that monarch had been brought up in the

old policy of his family, and was imbued with the traditional principles of his cabinet. I know for a fact that the sentiments and intentions of the Emperor of Austria perfectly coincided with those of his allies. Anxious to ascertain the truth on this subject, I ventured, when in conversation with the Emperor Alexander, to hint at the reports I had heard relative to the cause of the Emperor of Austria's absence. I do not recollect the precise words of his majesty's answer, but it enabled me to infer with certainty that Francis II. was in no way averse to the overthrow of his son-in-law, and that his absence from the scene of the discussions was only occasioned by a feeling of delicacy natural enough in his situation.

Caulincourt, who was sent by Napoleon to the head-quarters of the Emperor Alexander, arrived there on the night of the 30th of March. He, however, did not obtain an interview with the emperor until after his majesty had received the municipal council of Paris, at the head of which was M. de Chabrol. At first Alexander appeared somewhat surprised to see the municipal council, which he did not receive exactly in the way that was expected; but this coldness was merely momentary, and he afterwards addressed the council in a very gracious way, though he dropped no hint of his ulterior projects.

Alexander, who entertained a personal regard for Caulincourt, received him kindly in his own character, but not as the envoy of Napoleon:—"You have come too late," said the emperor. "It is all over. I can say nothing to you at present. Go to Paris, and I will see you there." These words perfectly enlightened Caulincourt as to the result of his mission. His next interview with the Emperor Alexander at M. de Talleyrand's, did not take place until after the declaration noticed in my last chapter. The emperor had besides dropped observations which pretty clearly indicated his wishes. Even admitting that Alexander had no fixed determination relative to the restoration of the house of Bourbon, is it possible to deny his project of changing the dynasty of France? On Caulincourt's audience with the Emperor Alexander, he

\* At this period the language of Alexander was consistent and unvarying. To the deputation from the senate, who presented the list of the individuals composing the provisional government, he said, "A man calling himself my ally, came to my dominions as an unjust aggressor. I make war against him, and not against France. I am the friend of the French people, and what they have done increases my friendly sentiments. It is just, it is wise, to give to France powerful and liberal institutions in unison with the spirit of the age. My allies and I come only to protect your decisions."

was not ignorant of the sentiments of the monarch, nor of the words he had uttered. The conversation they had together remained a secret, for neither Alexander nor the Duke of Vicenza mentioned it; but there was reason to infer from some words which fell from the Emperor Alexander, that he had received Caulincourt rather as a private man than as the ambassador of Napoleon, whose power, indeed, he could not recognise after his declaration. The provisional government was not entirely pleased with Caulincourt's presence in Paris, and a representation was made to the Russian emperor on the subject. Alexander concurred in the opinion of the provisional government, which was expressed through the medium of the Abbé de Pradt. He therefore enjoined M. de Caulincourt to quit Paris, declaring that the allies had no reply to make to the communications with which the Emperor Napoleon might have intrusted him. M. de Caulincourt, therefore, returned to the emperor, who was then at Fontainebleau.

On the morning of the 30th of March, while the battle before the walls of Paris was at its height, Bonaparte was still at Troyes. He quitted that town at ten o'clock, accompanied only by Bertrand, Caulincourt, two aides-de-camp and two orderly officers. He was not more than two hours in travelling the first ten leagues, and he and his feeble escort performed the journey without changing horses, and without even alighting. They arrived at Sens at one o'clock in the afternoon. Every thing was in such confusion, that it was impossible to prepare a suitable mode of conveyance for the emperor. He was therefore obliged to content himself with a wretched cariole, and in this equipage, about four in the morning, he reached Froidmanteau, about four leagues from Paris. It was there that the emperor received from General Belliard, who arrived at the head of a column of artillery, the first intelligence of the battle of Paris. He heard the news with an air of composure, which was probably affected, to avoid discouraging those about him. He walked for about a quarter of an hour on the high-road, and it was after that promenade that he sent Caulincourt to Paris. Napoleon afterwards went to the house of the postmaster, where he ordered his maps to be brought to him, and, according to custom, marked the different positions of the enemy's troops with pins, the heads of which were touched with wax of different colours. Napoleon next repaired to Fontainebleau, where he arrived at six in the morning. He did not order the great apartments of the castle to

be opened, but went up to his favourite little apartment,\* where he shut himself up, and remained alone during the whole of the 31st of March.

In the evening the emperor sent for the Duke de Ragusa, who had just arrived at Essone with his troops. The duke reached Fontainebleau between three and four o'clock on the morning of the 1st of April. Napoleon then received a detailed account of the events of the 30th from Marmont, on whose gallant conduct before Paris he bestowed much praise.

All was gloom and melancholy at Fontainebleau, yet the emperor still retained his authority, and I have been informed that he deliberated for some time as to whether he should retire behind the Loire, or immediately hazard a bold stroke upon Paris, which would have been much more to his taste than to resign himself to the chances which an uncertain temporizing might bring about. This latter thought pleased him; and he was seriously considering of his plan of attack when the news of the 31st, and the unsuccessful issue of Caulincourt's mission, gave him to understand that his situation was more desperate than he had hitherto imagined.

Meanwhile, the heads of the columns, which the emperor had left at Troyes, arrived on the 1st of April at Fontainebleau. The troops having marched fifty leagues in less than three days, one of the most rapid marches ever performed. On the 2d of April, Napoleon communicated the events of Paris to the generals who were about him, recommending them to conceal the news lest it should dispirit the troops upon whom he yet relied. That day, during an inspection of the troops, which took place in the court of the place, Bonaparte assembled the officers of his guard, and harangued them as follows :

Soldiers ! the enemy has stolen three marches upon us, and has made himself master of Paris. We must drive him from thence. Frenchmen, unworthy of the name, emigrants whom we have pardoned, have mounted the white cockade, and joined the enemy. The wretches shall receive the reward due to this new crime. Let us swear to conquer or die, and to enforce respect to the tri-coloured cockade, which has for twenty years accompanied us on the path of glory and honour.

He also endeavoured to induce the generals to second his

\* This little apartment is situated on the first story, parallel with what is called the gallery of Francis I., where Monaldeschi was murdered by order of Queen Christine.



mad designs' upon Paris, by making them believe that he had made sincere efforts to conclude peace. He assured them that he had expressed to the Emperor Alexander his willingness to purchase it by great sacrifices; that he had consented to resign even the conquests made during the revolution, and to confine himself within the old limits of France. "Alexander," added Napoleon, "refused; and not content with that refusal he has leagued himself with a party of emigrants, whom, perhaps, I was wrong in pardoning for having borne arms against France. Through their perfidious insinuations, Alexander has permitted the white cockade to be mounted in the capital. We will maintain ours, and in a few days we will march upon Paris. I rely on you."

When the boundless attachment of the guards to the emperor is considered, it cannot appear surprising that these last words uttered in an impressive tone, should have produced a feeling of enthusiasm, almost electrical, in all to whom they were addressed. The old companions of the glory of their chief exclaimed with one voice, "Paris! Paris!" But, fortunately, during the night, the generals having deliberated with each other, saw the frightful abyss into which they were about to precipitate France. They therefore resolved to intimate in moderate terms to the emperor, that they would not expose Paris to destruction; so that on the 3d of April, prudent ideas succeeded the inconsiderate enthusiasm of the preceding day.

The wreck of the army assembled at Fontainebleau, which was the remnant of a million of troops, levied during fifteen months, consisted only of the corps of the Duke de Reggio, Ney, Macdonald, and General Gerard, which altogether did not amount to twenty-five thousand men, and which joined to the remaining seven thousand of the guard, did not leave the emperor a disposable force of more than thirty-two thousand men. Nothing but madness or despair could have suggested the thought of subduing, with such scanty resources, the foreign masses which occupied and surrounded Paris.

On the 2d of April, the senate published a senatus consultum, declaring that Napoleon had forfeited the throne, and abolishing the right of succession, which had been established in favour of his family. Furnished with this act, and without awaiting the concurrence of the legislative body, which was given next day, the provisional government published an address to the French armies. In this address the troops were informed that they were no longer the soldiers of Napoleon,

and that the senate released them from their oaths. These documents were widely circulated at the time, and inserted in all the public journals.

The address of the senate was sent round to the marshals, and was of course first delivered to those who were nearest the capital; of this latter number was Marmont, whose allegiance to the emperor, as we have already seen, yielded only to the sacred interests of his country. Montessuis was directed by the provisional government to convey the address to Marmont, and to use such arguments as were calculated to strengthen those sentiments which had triumphed over his dearest personal affections. I gave Montessuis a letter to Marmont, in which I said—

The bearer will convey to you the remembrances of our friendship. He will, I trust, influence your resolution : a single word will suffice to induce you to sacrifice all for the happiness of your country. To secure that object you, who are so good a Frenchman and so loyal a knight, will not fear either dangers or obstacles. Your friends expect you, long for you, and I trust will soon embrace you.

Montessuis also took one from General Dessolles, whom the provisional government had appointed governor of the national guard in the room of Marshal Moncey, who had left Paris on the occupation of the allies. General Dessolles and I did not communicate to each other our correspondence ; but when I afterwards saw the letter of Dessolles, I could not help remarking the coincidence of our appeal to Marmont's patriotism. Prince Schwartzberg also wrote to Marmont, to induce him to espouse a cause which had now become the cause of France. To the prince's letter Marmont replied, that he was disposed to concur in the union of the army and the people, which would avert all chance of civil war, and stop the effusion of French blood ; and that he was ready with his troops to quit the army of the Emperor Napoleon on the following conditions, the assurance of which he required in writing :

1st. I, Charles Prince Schwartzberg, marshal and commander-in-chief of the allied armies, guarantee to all the French troops who, in consequence of the decree of the senate of the 2d of April, may quit the standard of Napoleon Bonaparte, that they shall retire freely into Normandy with arms, baggage, and ammunition, and with the same marks of respect and military

honours which the allied troops reciprocally observe to each other.

2d. That if, by this movement, the chances of war should throw into the hands of the allied powers the person of Napoleon Bonaparte, his life and liberty shall be guaranteed in a space of territory and a circumscribed country, to be chosen by the allied powers and the French government.

Prince Schwartzberg, in his answer to Marmont, expressing his satisfaction at the marshal's readiness to obey the call of the provisional government, said, "I beg of you to believe, that I am fully sensible of the article which you demand, and which I accept, relative to the person of Napoleon."

After the correspondence between Marmont and Prince Schwartzberg, in which the latter acceded to all the conditions required by the former, Marmont was placed in circumstances which obliged him to request that he might be released from his promise.

I happened to learn the manner in which Marshal Macdonald was informed of the taking of Paris. He had been two days without any intelligence from the emperor, when he received an order in the handwriting of Berthier, couched in the following terms: "The emperor desires that you halt wherever you may receive this order." After Berthier's signature the following words were added as a postscript: "You, of course, know that the enemy is in possession of Paris." When the emperor thus announced, with apparent negligence, an event which totally changed the face of affairs, I am convinced his object was to make the marshal believe that he looked upon that event as less important than it really was. However, this object was not attained; for I recollect having heard Macdonald say, that Berthier's singular postscript, and the tone of indifference in which it was expressed, filled him with mingled surprise and alarm. Marshal Macdonald then commanded the rear-guard of the army which occupied the environs of Montereau. Six hours after the receipt of the order here referred to, Macdonald received a second order directing him to put his troops in motion, and he learned the emperor's intention of marching on Paris with all his remaining force.

On receiving the emperor's second order, Macdonald left his corps at Montereau, and repaired in haste to Fontainebleau. When he arrived there, the emperor had already intimated to the generals, commanding divisions in the army corps, assembled at Fontainebleau, his design of marching on Paris.

Alarmed at this determination, the generals, most of whom had left in the capital their wives, children, and friends, requested that Macdonald would go with them to wait upon Napoleon, and endeavour to dissuade him from his intention. "Gentlemen," said the marshal, "in the emperor's present situation, such a proceeding may displease him. It must be managed cautiously. Leave it to me, Gentlemen, I will go to the castle."

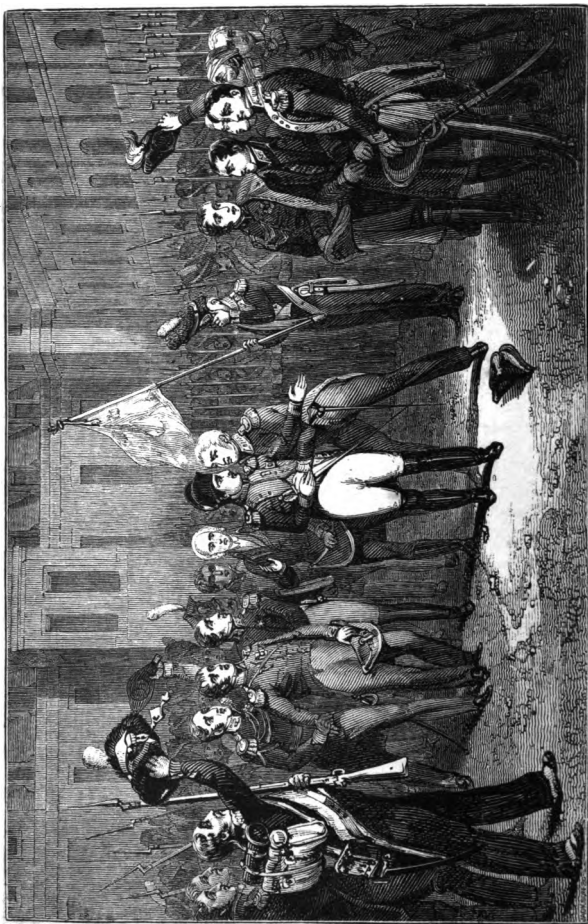
Marshal Macdonald accordingly went to the palace of Fontainebleau, where the following conversation ensued between him and the emperor, and I beg the reader to bear in mind, that it was related to me by the marshal himself. As soon as he entered the apartment in which Napoleon was, the latter stepped up to him and said, "Well, how are things going on?"—"Very badly, Sire."—"How? . . . badly! . . . What then are the feelings of your army?"—"My army, Sire, is entirely discouraged . . . appalled by the events of Paris."—"Will not your troops join me in an advance on Paris?"—"Sire, do not think of such a thing. If I were to give such an order to my troops, I should run the risk of being disobeyed."—"But what is to be done? I cannot remain as I am; I have yet resources and partisans. It is said that the allies will no longer treat with me. Well! no matter. I will march on Paris. I will be revenged on the inconstancy of the Parisians, and the baseness of the senate. Woe to the members of the government they have patched up for the return of their Bourbons; that is what they are looking forward to. But to-morrow I shall place myself at the head of my guards, and we will march on the Tuileries."

During all this vapouring, the marshal listened in silence; and when at length Napoleon became somewhat calm, the marshal observed, "Sire, it appears then that you are not aware of what has taken place in Paris; of the establishment of a provisional government, and . . . ."—"I know it all: and what then?"—"Sire," added the marshal, presenting a paper to Napoleon, "here is something which will tell you more than I can." Macdonald then presented to him a letter from Marshal Beurnonville, announcing the forfeiture of the emperor, pronounced by the senate, and the determination of the allied powers, not to treat with Napoleon or any member of his family.—"Marshal," said the emperor, before he opened the letter, "may this be read aloud?"—"Certainly, Sire."—The letter was then handed to Barré, who read it. An individual, who was present on the occasion, described to

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THE DEPARTURE FROM FONTAINEBLEAU.

Engraving. Published by Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley. 1841.

me the impression which the reading of the letter produced on Napoleon. His countenance exhibited that violent contraction of the features which I have often remarked when his mind was disturbed. However, he did not lose his self-command, which indeed never forsook him when policy or vanity required that he should retain it; and when the reading of Beurnonville's letter was ended, he affected to persist in his intention of marching on Paris. "Sire," exclaimed Macdonald, "that plan must be renounced. Not a sword would be unsheathed to second you in such an enterprise."

After this conversation between the emperor and Macdonald, the question of the abdication began to be seriously thought of. Caulincourt had already hinted to Napoleon, that in case of his abdicating personally there was a possibility of inducing the allies to agree to a council of regency. Napoleon then determined to sign the act of abdication, which he himself drew up in the following terms :

The allied powers having declared that the Emperor Napoleon is the only obstacle to the re-establishment of peace in Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he is ready to descend from the throne, to leave France, and even to lay down his life for the welfare of the country, which is inseparable from the rights of his son, those of the regency of the empress, and the maintenance of the laws of the empire. Given at our palace of Fontainebleau, April 2, 1814.

NAPOLEON.

After having written this act, the emperor presented it to the marshals, saying, "Here, Gentlemen! are you satisfied?"

This abdication of Napoleon was certainly very useless; but in case of any thing occurring to render it a matter of importance, the act might have proved entirely illusory. Its meaning might appear unequivocal to the generality of the people, but not to me, who was so well initiated in the cunning to which Napoleon could resort when it suited his purpose. It is necessary to observe, that Napoleon does not say that "he descends from the throne," but that "he is *ready* to descend from the throne." This was a subterfuge, by the aid of which he intended to open new negotiations respecting the form and conditions of the regency of his son, in case of the allied sovereigns acceding to that proposition. This would have afforded the means of gaining time.

He had not yet resigned all hope, and therefore he joyfully

received a piece of intelligence communicated to him by General Allix. The general informed the emperor that he had met an Austrian officer, who was sent by Francis II. to Prince Schwartzberg, and who positively assured him that all which had taken place in Paris was contrary to the wish of the Emperor of Austria. That this may have been the opinion of the officer is possible, and even probable. But it is certain from the issue of a mission of the Duke de Cadore, of which I shall presently speak, that the officer addressed merely his own personal opinion. However, as soon as General Allix had communicated this good news, as he termed it, to Napoleon, the latter exclaimed to the persons who were about him, "I told you so, gentlemen. Francis II. cannot carry his enmity so far as to dethrone his daughter. Vicenza, go and desire the marshals to return my act of abdication. I will send a courier to the Emperor of Austria."

Thus Bonaparte, in his shipwreck, looked round for a saving plank, and tried to nurse himself in illusions. The Duke de Vicenza went to Marshals Ney and Macdonald, whom he found just stepping into the carriage to proceed to Paris. Both positively refused to return the act to Caulincourt, saying, "We are sure of the concurrence of the Emperor of Austria, and we take every thing upon ourselves." The result proved that they were better informed than General Allix.

During the conversation with Marshal Macdonald, which has just been described, the emperor was seated. When he came to the resolution of signing the abdication, he rose, and walked once or twice up and down his cabinet. After he had written and signed the act, he said, "Gentlemen, the interests of my son, the interests of the army, and above all, the interests of France, must be defended. I, therefore, appoint as my commissioners to the allied powers, the Duke de Vicenza, the Prince of the Moskowa, and the Duke de Ragusa . . . . Are you satisfied," added he, after a pause. "I think these interests are consigned to good hands." All present answered, as with one voice, "Yes, Sire." But no sooner was this answer pronounced, than the emperor threw himself upon a small yellow sofa, which stood near the window, and striking his thigh with his hand, with a sort of convulsive motion, he exclaimed, "No, gentlemen. I will have no regency! With my guards, and Marmont's corps, I shall be in Paris to-morrow." Ney and Macdonald vainly endeavoured to undeceive him respecting this impracticable design. He rose with marked



ill-humour, and rubbing his head, as he was in the habit of doing when agitated, he said, in a loud and authoritative tone, "Retire."

The marshals withdrew, and Napoleon was left alone with Caulincourt. He told the latter that what had most displeased him in the proceedings which had just taken place, was the reading of Beurnonville's letter. "Sire," observed the Duke de Vicenza, "it was by your order that the letter was read."—"That is true. . . . . But why was it not addressed directly to me by Macdonald?"—"Sire, the letter was at first addressed to Marshal Macdonald; but the aide-de-camp who was the bearer of it had orders to communicate its contents to Marmont, on passing through Essonne, because Beurnonville did not precisely know where Macdonald would be found." After this brief explanation, the emperor appeared satisfied, and he said to Caulincourt, "Vicenza, call back Macdonald."

The Duke de Vicenza hastened after the marshal, whom he found at the end of the gallery of the palace, and he brought him back to the emperor. When Macdonald returned to the cabinet, the emperor's warmth had entirely subsided, and he said to him with great composure, "Well, Duke de Tarento, do you think that the regency is the only possible thing?"—"Yes, Sire."—"Then I wish you to go with Ney to the Emperor Alexander, instead of Marmont; it is better that he should remain with his army corps, to which his presence is indispensable. You will, therefore, go with Ney. I rely on you. I hope you have entirely forgotten all that has separated us for so long a time."—"Yes, Sire, I have not thought of it since 1809."—"I am glad of it, Marshal, and I must acknowledge to you that I was in the wrong." While speaking to the marshal, the emperor manifested unusual emotion. He approached him, and pressed his hand in the most affectionate way.

The emperor's three commissioners, that is to say, Marshals Macdonald and Ney, and the Duke de Vicenza, informed Marmont that they would dine with him as they passed through Essonne, and would acquaint him with all that had happened at Fontainebleau. On their arrival at Essonne, the three imperial commissioners explained to the Duke de Ragusa the object of their mission, and persuaded him to accompany them to the Emperor Alexander. This obliged the marshal to inform them how he was situated. The negotia-

tions which Marmont had opened, and almost concluded, with Prince Schwartzberg, were rendered null by the mission which he had joined, and which it was necessary he should himself explain to the commander of the Austrian army. The three marshals and the Duke de Vicenza repaired to Petitbourg, the head-quarters of Prince Schwartzberg, and there the prince released Marmont from the promise he had given.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

Unexpected receipts in the post-office department—Arrival of Napoleon's commissioners at M. de Talleyrand's—Conference of the marshals with Alexander—Alarming news from Essonne—Marmont's courage—The white cockade and the tricoloured cockade—A successful stratagem—Three governments in France—The Duke de Cadore sent by Maria Louisa to the Emperor of Austria—Maria Louisa's proclamation to the French people—Interview between the Emperor of Austria and the Duke de Cadore—The emperor's protestation of friendship for Napoleon—M. Metternich and M. Stadion—Maria Louisa's departure for Orleans—Blucher's visit to me—Audience of the King of Prussia—His majesty's reception of Berthier, Clarke, and myself—Bernadotte in Paris—Cross of the Polar Star presented to me by Bernadotte.

AFTER my nomination as director-general of the post-office, the business of that department proceeded as regularly as before. Having learned that a great many intercepted letters had been thrown aside, I sent, on the 4th of April, an advertisement to the *Moniteur*, stating, that the letters to and from England and other foreign countries, which had been lying at the post-office for more than three years, would be forwarded to their respective addresses. This produced to the post-office a receipt of nearly three hundred thousand francs; a fact which may afford an idea of the enormous number of the intercepted letters.

On the night after the publication of the advertisement, I was awakened by an express from the provisional government, by which I was requested to proceed with all possible haste to M. de Talleyrand's hotel. I rose, and set off immediately and I got there some minutes before the arrival of the emperor's commissioners. I went up to the saloon on the first floor, which was one of the suite of apartments occupied by the Emperor Alexander. The marshals retired to confer with the monarch; and it would be difficult to describe the

anxiety, or I may rather say, consternation which, during their absence, prevailed among some of the members of the provisional government, and other persons assembled in the saloon where I was.

While the marshals were with Alexander, I learned that they had previously conversed with M. de Talleyrand, who observed to them, "If you succeed in your designs, you will compromise all who have met in this hotel since the 1st of April, and the number is not small. For my part, take no account of me, I am willing to be compromised." I had passed the evening of this day with M. de Talleyrand, who then observed to the Emperor Alexander in my presence, "Will you support Bonaparte? No, you neither can nor will. I have already had the honour to tell your Majesty that we can have no choice but between Bonaparte and Louis XVIII.; any thing else would be an intrigue, and no intrigue can have power to support him who may be its object. Bernadotte, Eugène, the Regency, all those propositions result from intrigues. In present circumstances, nothing but a new principle is sufficiently strong to establish the new order of things which must be adopted. *Louis XVIII. is a principle.*"

None of the members of the provisional government were present at this conference, for no one was willing to appear to influence in any way the determination of the chief of the coalition, upon the subject of this important mission. General Dessolles alone, in quality of commander of the national guard of Paris, was requested to be present. At length the marshals entered the saloon where we were, and their appearance created a sensation which it is impossible to describe; but the expression of dissatisfaction which we thought we remarked in their countenances, restored the hopes of those who for some hours had been a prey to apprehensions. Macdonald, with his head elevated, and evidently under the influence of strong irritation, approached Beurnonville, and thus addressed him, in answer to a question which the latter had put to him:—"Speak not to me, Sir, I have nothing to say to you. You have made me forget a friendship of thirty years!" Then turning to Dupont, "As for you, Sir," he continued in the same tone, "your conduct towards the emperor is not generous. I confess that he has treated you with severity, perhaps he may even have been unjust to you with respect to the affair of Baylen; but how long has it been the practice to avenge a personal wrong at the expense of one's country?"

These remarks were made with such warmth, and in so elevated a tone of voice, that Caulincourt thought it necessary to interfere, and said, "Do not forget, gentlemen, that this is the residence of the Emperor of Russia." At this moment M. de Talleyrand returned from the interview with the emperor, which he had had after the departure of the marshals, and approaching the group formed round Macdonald, "Gentlemen," said he, "if you wish to dispute and discuss, step down to my apartments."—"That would be useless," replied Macdonald, "my comrades and I do not acknowledge the provisional government." The three Marshals, Ney, Macdonald, and Marmont, then immediately retired with Caulincourt, and went to Ney's hotel, there to await the answer which the Emperor Alexander had promised to give them after consulting the King of Prussia.

Such was this night-scene, which possessed more dramatic effect than many which are performed on the stage. In it all was real: on its denouement depended the political state of France, and the existence of all those who had already declared themselves in favour of the Bourbons. It is a remarkable fact, and one which affords a striking lesson to men who are tempted to sacrifice themselves for any political cause, that most of those who then demanded the restoration of the Bourbons at the peril of their lives, have successively fallen into a sort of disgrace.

When the marshals and Caulincourt had retired, we were all anxious to know what had passed between them and the Emperor of Russia. I learned from Dessolles, who, as I have stated, was present at the conference, in his rank of commander of the national guard of Paris, that the marshals were unanimous in urging Alexander to accede to a regency. Macdonald especially supported that proposition with much warmth; and among the observations he made, I recollect Dessolles mentioning the following: "I am not authorized to treat in any way for the fate reserved for the emperor. We have full powers to treat for the regency, the army, and France; but the emperor has positively forbidden us to specify any thing personally regarding himself." Alexander merely replied, "That does not astonish me." The marshals then resuming the conversation, dwelt much on the respect which was due to the military glory of France. They strongly manifested their disinclination to abandon the family of a man who had so often led them to victory; and, lastly, they reminded the Emperor Alexander of his own declaration, in which he pro-

claimed in his own name, as well as on the part of his allies, that it was not their intention to impose on France any government whatever.

Dessolles, who had all along declared himself in favour of the Bourbons, in his turn entered into the discussion with as much warmth as the partisans of the regency. He represented to Alexander how many persons would be compromised, for merely having acted, or declared their opinions, behind the shield of his promises. He repeated what Alexander had already been told, that the regency would, in fact, be nothing but Bonaparte in disguise. However, Dessolles acknowledged that such was the effect of Marshal Macdonald's powerful and persuasive eloquence, that Alexander seemed to waver, and unwilling to give the marshals a positive refusal, he had recourse to a subterfuge, by which he would be enabled to execute the design he had irrevocably formed, without seeming to take on himself alone the responsibility of a change of government. Dessolles accordingly informed us, that Alexander at last gave the following answer to the marshals: "Gentlemen, I am not alone; in an affair of such importance, I must consult the King of Prussia, for I have promised to do nothing without consulting him. In a few hours you shall know my decision." It was this decision which the marshals went to wait for at Ney's.

Most of the members of the provisional government attributed the evasive reply of the Emperor Alexander to the influence of the speech of Dessolles. For my part, while I do justice to the manner in which he declared himself on this important occasion, I do not ascribe to his eloquence the power of fixing Alexander's resolution; for I well know by experience how easy it is to make princes appear to adopt the advice of any one, when the counsel given is precisely that which they wish to follow. From the sentiments of Alexander at this time I had not the slightest doubt as to the course he would finally pursue, and I considered what he said about consulting the King of Prussia to be a mere phrase of politeness, by which he avoided the disagreeable task of giving the marshals a direct refusal.

I therefore returned home, quite satisfied as to the result of the Emperor Alexander's visit to the King of Prussia. I knew, from the persons about the emperor, that he cherished a hatred, which was but too well justified, towards Bonaparte. Frederick William is of too firm a character to have yielded to any of the considerations which might on this subject have

been pressed on him, as they had been on the Emperor of Russia. But, besides that the King of Prussia had legitimate reasons for disliking Napoleon, policy would at that time have required that he should appear to be his enemy; for to do so was to render himself popular with his subjects, who were then all imbued with the principles of liberty, and even with some ideas of Carbonarism, which had been propagated and diffused by Baron Stein and his disciples.\* But the King of Prussia did not need to act under the dictates of policy; he followed his own opinion in rejecting the propositions of the marshals, which he did without hesitation, and with much energy.

While the marshals had gone to Paris, Bonaparte was anxious to ascertain whether his commissioners had passed the advanced posts of the foreign armies; and in case of resistance, he determined to march on Paris, for he could not believe that he had lost every chance. He sent an aide-de-camp to desire Marmont to come immediately to Fontainebleau: such was Napoleon's impatience, that instead of waiting for the return of his aide-de-camp, he sent off a second, and then a third officer, on the same errand. This rapid succession of envoys from the emperor alarmed the generals who commanded, at Essonne, the different divisions of Marmont's corps. They feared that the emperor was aware of the convention concluded that morning with Prince Schwartzberg; and that he had sent for Marmont with the view of reprimanding him. The fact was, Napoleon knew nothing of the matter; for Marmont, on departing for Paris, with Macdonald and Ney, had left orders that it should be said he had gone to inspect his lines. Souham, Lebrun, Des Essarts, and Bordesaille, who had given their assent to the convention with Prince Schwartzberg, deliberated in the absence of Marmont, and perhaps being ignorant that he was released from his promise, and fearing the vengeance of Napoleon, they determined to march upon Versailles. On arriving there, the troops not finding the marshal at their head, thought themselves betrayed, and a spirit of insurrection broke out among them. One of Marmont's aides-de-camp, whom he had left at Essonne, exerted every endeavour to prevent the departure of his general's corps; but finding all his efforts unavailing, he hastened

\* Baron Stein has also noticed this accusation, in a way which intimates that he treats it very lightly. He begs of M. Bourrienne not to correct either it or the charge, respecting La Sahla, vol. iii. p. 211, when he publishes his third edition.—E. Ed.

to Paris to inform the marshal of what had happened. When Marmont received this news, he was breakfasting at Ney's, with Macdonald and Caulincourt: they were waiting for the answer which the Emperor Alexander had promised to send them. The march of his corps on Versailles threw Marmont into despair. He said to the marshals, "I must be off to join my corps, and quell this mutiny; and without losing a moment, he ordered his carriage, and directed the coachman to drive with the utmost speed. He sent forward one of his aides-de-camp to inform the troops of his approach. Having arrived within a hundred paces of the place where his troops were assembled, he found the generals, who were under his orders, advancing to meet him. They urged him not to go further, as the men were in open insurrection. "I will go into the midst of them," said Marmont. "In a moment they shall either kill me, or acknowledge me as their chief." He sent off another aide-de-camp to range the troops in the order of battle. Then alighting from the carriage, and mounting a horse, he advanced alone, and thus harangued his troops: "How! Is there treason here? Is it possible that you disown me? Am I not your comrade? Have I not been wounded twenty times among you? . . . . Have I not shared your fatigues and privations? And am I not ready to do so again?" . . . . Here Marmont was interrupted by a general shout of "Vive le maréchal! Vive le maréchal!"

The alarm caused among the members of the provisional government, by the mission of the marshals, was increased by the news of the mutiny of Marmont's troops. During the whole of the day we were in a state of tormenting anxiety. It was feared that the insurrectionary spirit might spread among other corps of the army, and the cause of France again be compromised. But the courage of Marmont saved every thing. It would be impossible to convey any idea of the manner in which he was received by us at Talleyrand's, when he related the particulars of what had occurred at Versailles.

On the evening of the day on which Marmont had acted so nobly, it was proposed that the army should adopt the white cockade. In reply to this proposition, the marshal said, "Gentlemen, I have made my troops understand the necessity of serving France before all things. They have, consequently, returned to order, and I can now answer for them. But what I cannot answer for is, to induce them to abandon the colours which have led them to victory for the last twenty years. Therefore do not count upon me for a thing which I consider



to be totally hostile to the interests of France. I will speak to the Emperor Alexander on the subject." Such were Marmont's words. Every one appeared to concur in his opinion, and the discussion terminated. For my own part, I find by my notes, that I declared myself strongly in favour of Marmont's proposition.

The marshal's opinion having been adopted, at least provisionally, an article was prepared for the *Moniteur*, in nearly the following terms :

The white cockade has been, during the last four days, a badge for the manifestation of public opinion in favour of the overthrow of an oppressive government : it has been the only means of distinguishing the partisans of the restoration of the old dynasty, to which, at length, we are to be indebted for repose. But as the late government is at an end, all colours differing from our national colours are useless : let us, therefore, resume those which have so often led us to victory.

Such was the spirit of the article, though possibly the above copy may differ in a few words. It met with the unqualified approbation of every one present. I was therefore extremely surprised, on looking at the *Moniteur* next day, to find that the article was not inserted. I knew not what courtly interference prevented the appearance of the article ; but I remember that Marmont was very ill pleased at its omission. He complained on the subject to the Emperor Alexander, who promised to write, and in fact did write to the provisional government to get the article inserted. However, it did not appear, and in a few days we obtained a solution of the enigma, as we might, perhaps, have done before if we had tried. The Emperor Alexander also promised to write to the Count d'Artois, and to inform him that the opinion of France was in favour of the preservation of the three colours ; but I do not know whether the letter was written, or if it was, what answer it received.

Marshal Jourdan, who was then at Rouen, received a letter, written without the knowledge of Marmont, informing him that the latter had mounted the white cockade in his corps. Jourdan thought he could not do otherwise than follow Marmont's example, and he announced to the provisional government, that in consequence of the resolution of the Duke of Ragusa, he had just ordered his corps to wear the white cockade. Marmont could now be boldly faced, and when he complained to the provisional government of the non-insertion of

the article in the *Moniteur*, the reply was, "It cannot now appear. You see Marshal Jourdan has mounted the white cockade : you would not give the army two sets of colours !"

Marmont could make no answer to so positive a fact. It was not till some time after that I learned Jourdan had determined to unfurl the white only, on the positive assurance that Marmont had already done so. Thus we lost the colours which had been worn by Louis XVI. and Louis XVIII., and under the auspices of which the Count d'Artois showed himself on his return to the Parisians, for he entered the capital in the uniform of the national guard. The fraud played off by some members of the provisional government was attended by fatal consequences ; many evils might have been spared to France had Marmont's opinion been adopted.

At the period of the dissolution of the empire, there might be said to be three governments in France, viz., the provisional government in Paris, Napoleon at Fontainebleau, and the doubtful and ambulatory regency of Maria Louisa. Doubtful and ambulatory the regency might well be called ; for there was so little decision as to the course to be adopted by the empress, that it was at first proposed to conduct her to Orleans, then to Tours, and she went finally to Blois. The uncertainty which prevailed respecting the destiny of Maria Louisa is proved by a document which I have in my possession, and of which there cannot be many copies in existence. It is a circular addressed to the prefects by M. de Montalivet, the minister of the interior, who accompanied the empress. In it a blank is left for the seat of the government, to which the prefects are desired to send their communications. In the copy I possess, the blank is filled up with the word Blois in manuscript.

As soon as Maria Louisa was made acquainted with the events of Paris, she sent for the Duke de Cadore, and gave him a letter addressed to the Emperor of Austria, saying, "Take this to my father, who must be at Dijon. I rely on you for defending the interests of France, those of the emperor, and, above all, those of my son." Certainly, Maria Louisa's confidence could not be better placed, and those great interests would have been defended by the Duke de Cadore, *si defendi possent*. But nothing could alter the decrees of fate.

After the departure of the Duke de Cadore, Maria Louisa published the following proclamation, addressed to the French people :

The events of the war have placed the capital in the power of foreigners. The emperor has marched to defend it at the head of his armies, so often victorious. They are face to face with the enemy before the walls of Paris. From the residence which I have chosen, and from the ministers of the emperor, will emanate the only orders which you can acknowledge. Every town in the power of foreigners ceases to be free, and every order which may proceed from them is the language of the enemy, or that which it suits his hostile views to propagate. You will be faithful to your oaths. You will listen to the voice of a princess who *was* consigned to your good faith, and whose highest pride consists in being a French woman, and in being united to the destiny of the sovereign whom you have freely chosen. My son was less sure of your affections in the time of our prosperity; his rights and his person are under your safeguard.

MARIA LOUISA.

Blois, April 4, 1814.

It is to be inferred that the regency had, within three days, adopted the resolution of not quitting Blois; for the above document presents no blanks, nor words filled up in writing. The empress's proclamation, though a powerful appeal to the feelings of the French people, produced no effect. It was countersigned by Montalivet. I must show why, in the copy of the proclamation which I have subjoined, there is a word distinguished by italics. I was credibly informed, that when the document was printed, and presented to the empress, she drew her pen through the word *was*, and made the sentence read as follows: "You will listen to the voice of a princess who *has consigned herself* to your good faith," &c. The unfortunate princess did all she could to rally to her cause, and, above all, to the cause of her son, those whose resolutions were still wavering; and the truth is, that, personally, Maria Louisa inspired real interest, even in those who, from policy or regard for France, were most actively labouring to overthrow the imperial despotism. Maria Louisa's proclamation was dated the 4th of April, on the evening of which day Napoleon signed the conditional abdication, with the fate of which the reader has already been made acquainted. M. de Montalivet transmitted the empress's proclamation, accompanied by another circular, to the prefects, of whom very few received it.

M. de Champagny having left Blois with the letter he had received from the empress, proceeded to the head-quarters of the Emperor of Austria, carefully avoiding those roads which were occupied by Cossack troops. He arrived, not without

considerable difficulty, at Chanseaux, where Francis II. was expected. When the emperor arrived, the Duke de Cadore was announced, and immediately introduced to his majesty. The duke remained some hours with Francis II., without being able to obtain from him any thing but fair protestations. The emperor always took refuge behind the promise he had given to his allies to approve whatever measures they might adopt. The duke was not to leave the emperor's headquarters that evening; and, in the hope that his majesty might yet reflect on the critical situation of his daughter, he asked permission to take leave next morning. He accordingly presented himself to the emperor's levee, when he renewed his efforts in support of the claims of Maria Louisa: "I have a great affection for my daughter, and also for my son-in-law," said the emperor. "I bear them both in my heart, and would shed my blood for them."—"Ah! Sire," exclaimed M. de Champagny, "such a sacrifice is not necessary."—"Yes, Duke, I say again I would shed my blood, I would resign my life for them; but I have given my allies a promise not to treat without them, and to approve all that they may do. Besides," added the emperor, "my minister, M. Metternich, has gone to their head-quarters, and I will ratify whatever he may sign."

When the Duke de Cadore related to me the particulars of his mission, in which zeal could not work an impossibility, I remarked that he regarded, as a circumstance fatal to Napoleon, the absence of M. Metternich, and the presence of M. Stadion, at the head-quarters of the Emperor of Austria. Though, in all probability, nothing could have arrested the course of events, yet it is certain that the personal sentiments of the two Austrian ministers towards Napoleon were widely different. I am not going too far when I affirm that, policy apart, M. Metternich was much attached to Napoleon. In support of this assertion, I may quote a fact of which I can guarantee the authenticity. When M. Metternich was complimented on the occasion of Maria Louisa's marriage, he replied, "To have contributed to a measure, which has received the approbation of eighty millions of men, is indeed a just subject of congratulation." Such a remark openly made by the intelligent minister of the cabinet of Vienna, was well calculated to gratify the ears of Napoleon, from whom, however, M. Metternich, in his personal relations, did not conceal the truth. I recollect a reply which was made by M. Metternich at Dresden, after a little hesitation: "As to you," said the

emperor, "you will not go to war with me. It is impossible that you can declare yourselves against me. That can never be."—"Sire, we are not now quite allies, and sometime hence we may become enemies." This hint was the last which Napoleon received from Metternich, and Napoleon must have been blind indeed not to have profited by it. As to M. Stadion, he entertained a profound dislike of the emperor. That minister knew, and could not forget, that his preceding exclusion from the cabinet of Vienna had been due to the all-powerful influence of Napoleon.

Whether or not the absence of M. Metternich influenced the resolution of Francis II., it is certain that that monarch yielded nothing to the urgent solicitations of a minister who conscientiously fulfilled the delicate mission consigned to him. M. de Champagny rejoined the empress at Orleans, whither she had repaired on leaving Blois. He found Maria Louisa almost deserted : all the grand dignitaries of the empire having successively returned to Paris, after sending in their submissions to the provisional government.

I had scarcely entered upon the exercise of my functions as postmaster-general, when, on the morning of the 2d of April, I was surprised to see a Prussian general-officer enter my cabinet. I immediately recognised him to be General Blucher. He had commanded the Prussian army in the battle which took place at the gates of Paris. "Sir," said he, "I consider it one of my first duties, on entering Paris, to thank you for the attention I received from you in Hamburg. I am sorry that I was not sooner aware of your being in Paris. I assure you, that had I been sooner informed of this circumstance, the capitulation should have been made without a blow being struck. How much blood might then have been spared!"—"General," said I, "on what do you ground this assurance?"—"If I had known that you were in Paris, I would have given you a letter to the King of Prussia. That monarch, who knows the resources and intentions of the allies, would, I am sure, have authorized you to decide a suspension of arms before the neighbourhood of Paris became the theatre of the war."—"But," resumed I, "in spite of the good intentions of the allies, it would have been very difficult to prevent resistance. French pride, irritated as it was by reverses, would have opposed insurmountable obstacles to such a measure."—"But, good heavens ! you would have seen that resistance could be of no avail against such immense masses."—"You are right, General ; but French honour would have been de-

fended to the last.”—“I am fully aware of that; but surely you have earned glory enough.”—“Yet our French susceptibility would have made us look upon that glory as tarnished, if Paris had been occupied without defence. . . . But, under present circumstances, I am well pleased that you were satisfied with my conduct in Hamburg; for it induces me to hope, that you will observe the same moderation in Paris that I exercised there. The days are past when it could be said, Woe to the conquered.”—“You are right; yet,” added he, smiling, “you know we are called the northern barbarians.”—“Then, General,” returned I, “you have a fair opportunity of showing that that designation is a libel.”

Some days after Blucher’s visit, I had the honour of being admitted to a private audience of the King of Prussia. Clarke and Berthier were also received in this audience, which took place at the Hotel d’Eugène, where the King of Prussia resided in Paris. We waited for some minutes in the saloon, and when Frederick William entered from his cabinet, I remarked on his countenance an air of embarrassment and austerity, which convinced me that he had been studying his part, as great personages are in the habit of doing on similar occasions. The king, on entering the saloon, first noticed Berthier, whom he addressed with much kindness, bestowing praises on the French troops, and complimenting the marshal on his conduct during the war in Germany. Berthier returned thanks for these well-merited praises; for though he was not remarkable for strength of understanding, or energy of mind, yet he was not a bad man, and I have known many proofs of his good conduct in conquered countries.

After saluting Berthier, the King of Prussia turned towards Clarke, and his countenance immediately assumed an expression of dissatisfaction. He had evidently not forgotten Clarke’s conduct in Berlin. He reminded him that he had rendered the continental system more odious than it was in itself, and that he had shown no moderation in the execution of his orders. “In fine,” said his majesty, “if I have any advice to give you, it is that you never again return to Prussia.” The king pronounced these words in so loud and decided a tone, that Clarke was perfectly confounded. He uttered some unintelligible observations, which, however, Frederick William did not notice; for suddenly turning towards me, he said, with an air of affability, “Ah! M. Bourrienne, I am glad to see you, and I take this opportunity of repeating what I wrote to you, from Königsberg. You always extended protection to

the Germans, and did all you could to alleviate their condition. I learned, with great satisfaction, what you did for the Prussians, whom the fate of war drove into Hamburg; and I feel pleasure in telling you, in the presence of these gentlemen, that if all the French agents had acted as you did, we should not, probably, be here." I expressed by a profound bow how much I was gratified by this complimentary address, and the monarch, after saluting us, retired.

About the middle of April, Bernadotte arrived in Paris. His situation had become equivocal, since circumstances had banished the hopes he might have conceived in his interview with the Emperor Alexander, at Abo. Besides, he had been represented in some official pamphlets as a traitor to France, and among certain worshippers of our insulated glory, there prevailed a feeling of irritation, which the inconstancy of fortune might, perhaps, excuse, and which was unjustly directed towards Bernadotte.

While Bernadotte was in Paris I saw him every day. He but faintly disguised from me the hope he had entertained of ruling France; and in the numerous conversations to which our respective occupations led, I ascertained, though Bernadotte did not formally tell me so, that he had strong expectations of succeeding Napoleon.

I asked Bernadotte what he thought of the projects which were attributed to Moreau. Whether it was true that he had in him a competitor; and whether Moreau had aspired to the dangerous honour of governing France. "Those reports," replied the Prince Royal of Sweden, "are devoid of foundation: at least I can assure you that in the conversations I have had with the Emperor Alexander, that sovereign never said any thing which could warrant such a supposition. I know that the Emperor of Russia wished to avail himself of the military talents of Moreau in the great struggle that had commenced, and to enable the exiled general to return to his country, in the hope that should the war prove fortunate, he would enjoy the honours and privileges due to his past services."

Bernadotte expressed to me astonishment at the recal of the Bourbons; and assured me that he had not expected the French people would so readily have consented to the restoration. I confess I was surprised that Bernadotte, with the intelligence I know him to possess, should imagine that the will of subjects has any influence in changes of government.

During his stay in Paris, Bernadotte evinced for me the same sentiments of friendship which he had shown me at Hamburg. One day I received from him a letter, dated Paris, with which he transmitted to me one of the crosses of the Polar Star, which the King of Sweden had left at his disposal. Bernadotte was not very well satisfied with his residence in Paris, in spite of the friendship which the Emperor Alexander constantly manifested towards him. After a few days he set out for Sweden, having first taken leave of the Count d'Artois. I did not see him after his farewell visit to the count, so that I know not what was the nature of the conversation which passed between the two princes.



## CHAPTER XXXVII.

Unalterable determination of the allies with respect to Napoleon—Fontainebleau included in the limits to be occupied by the allies—Alexander's departure from Paris—Napoleon informed of the necessity of his unconditional abdication—Macdonald and Ney again sent to Paris—Alleged attempt of Napoleon to poison himself—Farewell interview between Macdonald and Napoleon—The sabre of Murad-Bey—Signature of the act of unconditional abdication—Tranquillity of Paris during the change of government—Ukase of the Emperor of Russia relative to the post-office—Religious ceremony on the Place Louis XV.—Arrival of the Count d'Artois—His entrance into Paris—Arrival of the Emperor of Austria—Singular assemblage of sovereigns in France—Visit of the Emperor of Austria to Maria Louisa—Her interview with the Emperor Alexander—Her departure for Vienna.

WHEN Marmont left Paris on the receipt of the intelligence from Essonne, Marshals Macdonald and Ney, and the Duke de Vicenza, waited upon the Emperor Alexander to learn his resolution before they should acquaint him with the movement of Marmont's troops. The Emperor Alexander had walked out at six in the morning to the residence of the King of Prussia, in the Rue de Bourbon. The two sovereigns afterwards proceeded together to M. de Talleyrand's, where they were when Napoleon's commissioners arrived. The commissioners being introduced to the two sovereigns, the Emperor Alexander, in answer to their proposition, replied, that the regency was impossible, as submissions to the provisional government were pouring in from all parts, and that if the army had formed contrary wishes, those wishes should have been sooner made known. "Sire," observed Macdonald, "that was impossible, as none of the marshals were in Paris, and, besides, who could foresee the turn which affairs have taken. Could we imagine that an unfounded alarm would have removed from Essonne the corps of the Duke de Ragusa, who

has this moment left us to bring his troops back to order?" These words produced no change in the determination of the sovereigns, who would hear of nothing but the unconditional abdication of Napoleon. Before the marshals took leave of the Emperor Alexander, they solicited an armistice of forty-eight hours, which time they said was indispensable to negotiate the act of abdication with Napoleon. This request was granted without hesitation, and the Emperor Alexander showing Macdonald a map of the environs of Paris, courteously presented him with a pencil, saying, "Here, Marshal, mark yourself the limits to be observed by the two armies."—"No, Sire," replied Macdonald, "we are the conquered party, and it is for you to mark the line of demarcation." Alexander determined that the right bank of the Seine should be occupied by the allied troops, and the left bank by the French; but it was observed that this arrangement would be attended with inconvenience, as it would cut Paris in two, and it was agreed that the line should turn Paris. I have been informed, that on a map sent to the Austrian staff to acquaint Prince Schwartzberg with the limits definitively agreed on, Fontainebleau, the emperor's head-quarters, was by some artful means included within the line. The Austrians acted so implicitly on this direction, that Marshal Macdonald was obliged to complain on the subject to Alexander, who removed all obstacles.

When, in discussing the question of the abdication conformably with the instructions he had received, Macdonald observed to the Emperor Alexander, that Napoleon wished for nothing for himself, "Assure him," replied Alexander, "that a provision shall be made for him worthy of the rank he has occupied. Tell him, that if he wishes to reside in my states he shall be well received, though he brought desolation there. I shall always remember the friendship which united us. He shall have the island of Elba, or *something else*. After taking leave of the Emperor Alexander on the 5th of April, Napoleon's commissioners returned to Fontainebleau to render an account of their mission. I saw Alexander that same day, and it appeared to me that his mind was relieved of a great weight by the question of the regency being brought to an end. I was informed that he intended to quit Paris in a few days, and that he had given full powers to M. Pozzo-di Borgo, whom he appointed his commissioner to the provisional government.

On the same day, the 5th of April, Napoleon inspected his troops in the palace-yard of Fontainebleau. He observed some coolness among his officers, and even among the private sol-

diers who had evinced such enthusiasm when he inspected them on the 2d of April. He was so much affected by this change of conduct that he remained but a short time on the parade, and afterwards retired to his apartments.

At near one o'clock on the morning of the 6th of April, Ney, Macdonald, and Caulincourt, arrived at Fontainebleau to acquaint the emperor with the issue of their mission, and the sentiments expressed by Alexander when they took leave of him. Marshal Ney was the first to announce to Napoleon that the allies required his complete and unconditional abdication, unaccompanied by any stipulation, except that of his personal safety, which should be guaranteed. Marshal Macdonald and the Duke de Vicenza then spoke to the same effect, but in more gentle terms than those employed by Ney, who was but little versed in the courtesies of speech. When Marshal Macdonald had finished speaking, Napoleon said with some emotion, " Marshal, I am sensible of all that you have done for me, and of the warmth with which you have pleaded the cause of my son. They wish for my complete and unconditional abdication. . . . . Very well. . . . . I again empower you to act on my behalf. You shall go and defend my interests and those of my family." Then, after a moment's pause, he added, still addressing Macdonald, " Marshal, where shall I go?" Macdonald then informed the emperor what Alexander had mentioned in the hypothesis of his wishing to reside in Russia. " Sire," added he, " the Emperor of Russia told me that he destined for you the island of Elba, or something else."—" Or something else!" repeated Napoleon hastily . . . . " and what is that something else?"—" Sire, I know not."—" Ah! it is doubtless the island of Corsica, and he refrained from mentioning it to avoid embarrassment. Marshal, I refer all to you."

The marshals returned to Paris as soon as Napoleon furnished them with new powers; Caulincourt remained at Fontainebleau. On arriving in Paris, Marshal Ney sent in his adhesion to the provisional government, so that when Macdonald returned to Fontainebleau to convey to Napoleon the definitive treaty of the allies, Ney did not accompany him, and the emperor expressed surprise and dissatisfaction at his absence. Ney, as all his friends concurred in admitting, expended his whole energy in battle and often wanted resolution when out of the field; consequently, I was not surprised to find that he joined us before some other of his comrades. As to Macdonald, he was one of those generous spirits who may be most confi-

dently relied on by those who have wronged them. Napoleon experienced the truth of this. Macdonald returned alone to Fontainebleau, and when he entered the emperor's chamber, he found him seated in a small arm-chair before the fireplace. He was dressed in a morning-gown of white dimity, and he wore his slippers without stockings. His elbows rested on his knees and his head was supported by his hands. He was motionless and seemed absorbed in profound reflection. Only two persons were in the apartment, the Duke de Bassano, who was at a little distance from the emperor, and Caulincourt, who was near the fireplace. So profound was Napoleon's reverie that he did not hear Macdonald enter, and the Duke de Vicenza was obliged to inform him of the marshal's presence.—“Sire,” said Caulincourt, “the Duke de Tarento has brought for your signature the treaty which is to be ratified to-morrow.” The emperor then, as if roused from a lethargic slumber, turned to Macdonald, and merely said, “Ah, Marshal! so you are here!” Napoleon's countenance was so altered that the marshal, struck with the change, said as it were involuntarily, “Is your Majesty indisposed?”—“Yes,” answered Napoleon, “I have passed a very bad night.”\*

The emperor continued seated for a moment, then rising, he took the treaty, read it without making any observation, signed it, and returned it to the marshal, saying, “I am not now rich enough to reward these last services.”—“Sire, interest never guided my conduct.”—“I know that, and I now see how I have been deceived respecting you. I also see the designs of those who prejudiced me against you.”—“Sire, I have already told you since 1809, I am devoted to you in life and death.”—“I know it. But since I cannot

\* It has been alleged that on the night preceding Macdonald's return to Fontainebleau, Napoleon made an attempt to poison himself. But as I have no certain knowledge respecting this affair, I shall not, as some persons have done, hazard conjectures on the subject. The circumstance was decidedly contradicted by Napoleon in his conversation at Saint Helena. The only person who can remove the doubts which exist on the subject is Constant, who, I have been informed, never left Napoleon the whole night.

[Constant, in his “Memoirs,” confirms the report of Napoleon having taken poison at Fontainebleau. He states that on the night of the 11th of April he was suddenly called up on account of the emperor's indisposition. On entering Napoleon's chamber, he perceived in the fireplace a small leathern bag tied by a black ribbon, which he knew had contained opium, and which Napoleon had worn round his neck in all his campaigns, since the commencement of the Spanish war. Caulincourt and Yvan were immediately sent for. The dose was not sufficiently potent to produce death, and Napoleon recovered before morning.—E. Ed.]

reward you as I would wish, let a token of remembrance, inconsiderable though it be, assure you that I shall ever bear in mind the services you have rendered me." Then turning to Caulincourt, Napoleon said, "Vicenza, ask for the sabre which was given me by Murad Bey, in Egypt, and which I wore at the battle of Mount Thabor." Constant having brought the sabre, the emperor took it from the hands of Caulincourt and presented it to the marshal: "Here, my faithful friend," said he, "is a reward which I believe will gratify you." Macdonald on receiving the sabre said, "If ever I have a son, Sire, this will be his most precious inheritance. I will never part with it as long as I live."—"Give me your hand," said the emperor, "and embrace me." At these words Napoleon and Macdonald affectionately rushed into each other's arms, and parted with tears in their eyes. Such was the last interview between Macdonald and Napoleon. I had the above particulars from the marshal himself in 1817, a few days after he returned to Paris with the treaty ratified by Napoleon.

After the clauses of the treaty had been guaranteed, Napoleon signed on the 11th of April, at Fontainebleau, his act of abdication, which was in the following terms: "The allied powers having proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon is the only obstacle to the re-establishment of peace in Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he renounces for himself and his heirs, the thrones of France and Italy, and that there is no personal sacrifice, even that of life, which he is not ready to make for the interests of France."

It was not until after Bonaparte had written and signed the above act that Marshal Macdonald sent to the provisional government his recognition, expressed in the following dignified and simple manner: "Being released from my oaths by the abdication of the Emperor Napoleon, I declare that I adhere to the acts of the senate and the provisional government." It is worthy of remark, that Napoleon's act of abdication was published in the *Moniteur* on the 12th of April, the very day on which the Count d'Artois made his entry into Paris, with the title of Lieutenant-general of the Kingdom, conferred on him by Louis XVIII. The 12th of April was also the day on which the imperial army fought its last battle before Toulouse, when the French troops, commanded by Soult, made Wellington purchase dearly his entrance into the south of France.

Political revolutions are generally stormy; yet, during the

great change of 1814, Paris was perfectly tranquil, thanks to the excellent discipline maintained by the commanders of the allied armies; and thanks also to the services of the national guard of Paris who every night patrolled the streets. My duties as director-general of the post-office, had of course obliged me to resign my captain's epaulette.

When I first obtained my appointment I had been somewhat alarmed to hear that all the roads were covered with foreign troops, especially Cossacks, who even in time of peace are very ready to capture any horses that may fall in their way. On my application to the Emperor Alexander, his majesty immediately issued a ukase, severely prohibiting the seizure of horses, or any thing belonging to the post-office department. The ukase was printed by order of the emperor, and fixed up at all the post-offices, and it will be seen, that after the 20th of March, when I was placed in an embarrassing situation, one of the post-masters on the Lille road expressed to me his gratitude for my conduct while I was in the service.

On the 10th of April, a ceremony took place in Paris, which has been much spoken of, and which must have had a very imposing effect on those who allow themselves to be dazzled by mere spectacle. Early in the morning some regiments of the allied troops occupied the north side of the Boulevard, from the side of the old Bastille to the Place Louis XV., in the middle of which a square monument was erected. Thither the allied sovereigns came to witness the celebration of mass, according to the rites of the Greek church. I went to a window of the hotel of the minister of marine to see the ceremony. After I had waited from eight in the morning till near twelve, the pageant commenced by the arrival of half a dozen Greek priests, with long beards, and as richly dressed as the high priests who figure in the processions of the opera. About three quarters of an hour after this first scene, the infantry, followed by the cavalry, entered the place, which, in a few moments was entirely covered with military. The allied sovereigns at length appeared, attended by brilliant staffs. They alighted from their horses, and advanced to the altar. What appeared to me most remarkable, was the profound silence of the vast multitude during the performance of the mass. The whole spectacle had the effect of a finely-painted panorama. For my own part, I must confess I was heartily tired of the ceremony, and was very glad when it was over. I could not admire the foreign uniforms, which were very inferior to ours.

Many of them appeared fanciful, and even grotesque: and nothing can be more unsoldier-like than to see a man laced in stays till his figure resembles a wasp. The ceremony which took place two days after, though less pompous, was much more French. In the retinue which, on the 12th of April, momentarily increased round the Count d'Artois, there were at least recollections for the old, and hopes for every one.

When, on the departure of the commissioners whom Napoleon had sent to Alexander to treat for the regency, it was finally determined that the allied sovereigns would listen to no proposition from Napoleon and his family, the provisional government thought it time to request that Monsieur would, by his presence, give a new impulse to the partisans of the Bourbons. The Abbé de Montesquiou wrote to the prince a letter which was carried to him by Viscount Sosthènes de la Rochefoucauld, one of the individuals who, in these difficult circumstances, most zealously served the cause of the Bourbons. On the afternoon of the 11th, Monsieur arrived at a country-house belonging to Madame Charles de Damas, where he passed the night. The news of his arrival spread through Paris with the rapidity of lightning, and every one wished to solemnize his entrance into the capital. The national guard formed a double line from the barrier of Bondy to Notre Dame, whither the prince was first to proceed, in observance of an old custom, which, however, had become very rare in France during the last twenty years.

M. de Talleyrand, accompanied by the members of the provisional government, several marshals and general officers, and the municipal body, headed by the prefect of the Seine, went in procession beyond the barrier to receive Monsieur. M. de Talleyrand, in the name of the provisional government, addressed the prince, who, in reply, made that observation which has been so often repeated: "Nothing is changed in France: there is only one Frenchman more." This remark promised much. The Count d'Artois next proceeded on horseback to the barrier Saint Martin. I mingled in the crowd to see the procession, and to observe the sentiments of the spectators. Near me stood an old knight of Saint Louis, who had resumed the insignia of the order, and who wept for joy at again seeing one of the Bourbons. The procession soon arrived, preceded by a band playing the air, "Vive Henri Quatre!" I had never before seen Monsieur, and his appearance had a most pleasing effect upon me. His open countenance bore the expression of that confidence which his presence inspired in all who saw

him. His staff was very brilliant, considering it was got together without preparation. The prince wore the uniform of the national guard, with the insignia of the order of the Holy Ghost. I must candidly state, that where I saw Monsieur pass, enthusiasm was chiefly confined to his own retinue, and to persons who appeared to belong to a superior class of society. The lower order of people seemed to be animated by curiosity and astonishment, rather than any other feeling. I must add, that it was not without painful surprise I saw a squadron of Cossacks close the procession; and my surprise was the greater when I learned from General Sacken that the Emperor Alexander had wished that on that day the *one Frenchman more* should be surrounded only by Frenchmen; and that to prove that the presence of the Bourbons was the signal of reconciliation, his majesty had ordered twenty thousand of the allied troops to quit Paris. I know not to what the presence of the Cossacks is to be attributed, but it was an awkward circumstance at the time, and one which malevolence did not fail to seize upon.

Two days only intervened between Monsieur's entrance into Paris and the arrival of the Emperor of Austria. That monarch was not popular among the Parisians. The line of conduct he had adopted was almost generally condemned; for, even among those who had most ardently wished for the dethronement of his daughter, through their aversion to the Bonaparte family, there were many who blamed the Emperor of Austria's behaviour to Maria Louisa: they would have wished that for the honour of Francis II., he had unsuccessfully opposed the downfall of the dynasty, whose alliance he considered as a safeguard in 1809. This was the opinion which the mass of the people instinctively formed; for they judged of the emperor of Austria in his character of a father, and not in his character of a monarch; and as the rights of misfortune are always sacred in France, more interest was felt for Maria Louisa, when she was known to be forsaken, than when she was in the height of her splendour. Francis II. had not seen his daughter since the day when she left Vienna to unite her destiny with that of the master of half of Europe; and I have already stated how he received the mission with which Maria Louisa intrusted the Duke de Cadore.

I was then too intent on what was passing in Paris and at Fontainebleau, to observe with equal interest all the circumstances connected with the fate of Maria Louisa; but I will present to the reader all the information I was able to collect



respecting that princess during the period immediately preceding her departure from France. She constantly assured the persons about her that she could rely on her father. The following words, which were faithfully reported to me, were addressed by her to an officer who was at Blois during the mission of M. de Champagny:—"Even though it should be the intention of the allied sovereigns to dethrone the Emperor Napoleon, my father will not suffer it. When he placed me on the throne of France he repeated to me twenty times his determination to uphold me on it; and my father is a good man." I also know that the empress, both at Blois and at Orleans, expressed her regret at not having followed the advice of the members of the regency, who wished her to stay in Paris.

On leaving Orleans, Maria Louisa proceeded to Rambouillet; and it was not one of the least extraordinary circumstances of that eventful period to see the sovereigns of Europe, the dethroned sovereigns of France, and those who had come to resume the sceptre, all crowded together within a circle of fifteen leagues round the capital. There was a Bourbon at the Tuileries, Bonaparte at Fontainebleau, his wife and son at Rambouillet, the repudiated empress three leagues distant, and the Emperors of Russia and Austria and the King of Prussia in Paris.

When all her hopes had vanished, Maria Louisa left Rambouillet to return to Austria with her son. She did not obtain permission to see Napoleon before her departure, though she had frequently expressed a wish to that effect. Napoleon himself was aware of the embarrassment which might have attended such a farewell, or, otherwise, he would no doubt have made a parting interview with Maria Louisa one of the clauses of the treaty of Paris and Fontainebleau, and of his definitive act of abdication. I was informed at the time, that the reason which prevented Maria Louisa's wish from being acceded to was the fear that, by one of those sudden impulses common to women, she might have determined to unite herself to Napoleon's fallen fortune, and accompany him to Elba; but the Emperor of Austria wished to have his daughter back again.

Things had arrived at this point, and there was no possibility of retracting from any of the decisions which had been formed, when the Emperor of Austria went to see his daughter at Rambouillet. I recollect it was thought extraordinary at the time, that the Emperor Alexander should accompany him

on this visit; and indeed the sight of the sovereign, who was regarded as the head and arbiter of the coalition, could not be agreeable to the dethroned empress. The two emperors set off from Paris shortly after each other. The Emperor of Austria arrived first at Rambouillet, where he was received with respect and affection by his daughter. Maria Louisa was happy to see him, but the many tears she shed were not all tears of joy. After the first effusion of filial affection, she complained of the situation to which she was reduced. Her father sympathized with her, but could offer her no consolation, since her misfortunes were irreparable. Alexander was expected to arrive immediately, and the Emperor of Austria, therefore, informed his daughter that the Russian monarch wished to see her. At first Maria Louisa decidedly refused to receive him, and she persisted for some time in this resolution. She said to her father, "Would he make me a prisoner before your eyes? If he enters here by force, I will retire to my chamber. There, I presume, he will not dare to follow me while you are here." But there was no time to be lost, Francis II heard the equipage of the Emperor of Russia rolling through the court-yard of Rambouillet, and his entreaties to his daughter became more and more urgent. At length she yielded, and the Emperor of Austria went himself to meet his ally, and conduct him to the saloon where Maria Louisa remained, in deference to her father. She did not, however, carry her deference so far as to give a favourable reception to him whom she regarded as the author of all her misfortunes. She listened with considerable coldness to the offers and protestations of Alexander, and merely replied, that all she wished for was the liberty of returning to her family. A few days after this painful interview, Maria Louisa and her son set off for Vienna.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Italy and Eugène—Siege of Dantzic—Capitulation concluded but not ratified—Rapp made prisoner and sent to Kiow—Davoust's refusal to believe the intelligence from Paris—Projected assassination of one of the French princes—Departure of Davoust and General Hogendorff from Hamburg—The affair of Maubreuil—Arrival of the Commissioners of the allied powers at Fontainebleau—Preference shown by Napoleon to Colonel Campbell—Bonaparte's address to General Kohler—His farewell to his troops—First day of Napoleon's journey—The imperial guard succeeded by the Cossacks—Rencounter with Augereau—The first white cockades—Napoleon hanged in effigy at Orzon—His escape in the disguise of a courier—Scene in the inn of La Calade—Arrival at Aix—The Princess Pauline—Napoleon embarks for Elba.

I MUST now direct the attention of the reader to Italy, which was the cradle of Napoleon's glory, and towards which he transported himself in imagination from the palace of Fontainebleau. Eugène had succeeded in keeping up his means of defence until April; but, on the 7th of that month, being positively informed of the overwhelming reverses of France, he found himself constrained to accede to the propositions of Marshal de Bellegarde, to treat for the evacuation of Italy; and on the 10th a convention was concluded, in which it was stipulated that the French troops, under the command of Eugène, should return within the limits of old France. The clauses of this convention were executed on the 19th of April. In his farewell address to the French soldiers, Eugène said:—"Long misfortunes have oppressed our country. France, seeking a remedy for her disasters, has taken refuge behind her old shield. The recollection of all her sufferings is effaced by the hope of the repose necessary after so much agitation. You are now about to return to your homes, and it would have been gratifying to me to have accompanied you thither; but I separate from you to fulfil duties which I owe to the Italian people."

Eugène, thinking that the senate of Milan was favourably disposed towards him, solicited that body to use its influence in obtaining the consent of the allied powers to his continuance at the head of the government of Italy;\* but this proposition was rejected by the senate. A feeling of irritation pervaded the public mind in Italy; and the army had not proceeded three marches beyond Mantua, when an insurrection broke out in Milan. The finance minister, Prina, was assassinated, and his residence demolished; and nothing would have saved the viceroy from a similar fate, had he been in his capital. Amidst this popular excitement, and the eagerness of the Italians to be released from the dominion of the French, the friends of Eugène thought him fortunate in being able to join his father-in-law at Munich, almost incognito.† Thus, at the expiration of nine years, fell the iron crown which Napoleon had placed on his head, saying, "*Dieu me l'a donné; gare à qui la touche.*"

I will now take a glance at the affairs of Germany. Rapp was not in France at the period of the fall of the empire. He had, with extraordinary courage and skill, defended himself against a year's siege at Dantzic. At length, being reduced to the last extremity, and constrained to surrender, he opened the gates of the city, which presented nothing but heaps of ashes. Rapp had stipulated that the garrison of Dantzic should return to France, and the Duke of Wirtemberg, who commanded the siege, had consented to that condition; but the Emperor of Russia having refused to ratify it, and Rapp having no means of defence, was made prisoner with his troops, and conducted to Kiow, whence he afterwards returned to Paris, where I saw him.

Hamburg still held out; but, at the beginning of April, intelligence was received there of the extraordinary events

\* The following is a curious circumstance relative to the senate of Milan: in the height of our disasters, that body sent a deputation to congratulate *Napoleon the Great* on the prospect of his triumphing over all his enemies. The deputation on its way received intelligence of the siege of Paris, and had just time to get back to Milan to be appointed to congratulate the allies on the *downfall of the tyrant*.

† Some time after, Eugène visited France, and had a long audience of Louis XVIII. He announced himself to that monarch by his father's title of Marquis de Beauharnais. The king immediately saluted him by the title of Monsieur le Maréchal, and proposed that he should reside in France with that rank. But this Eugène declined, because, as a French prince under the fallen government, he had commanded the Marshals; and he therefore could not submit to be the last in rank among those illustrious military chiefs.

which had delivered Europe from her oppressor. Davoust refused to believe this news, which at once annihilated all his hopes of power and greatness. This blindness was persisted in for some time at Hamburg. Several hawkers, who were marked out by the police as having been the circulators of Paris news, were shot. An agent of the government publicly announced his design of assassinating one of the French princes, in whose service he was said to have been as a page. He said he would go to his royal highness, and solicit to be appointed one of his aides-de-camp; and, that if the application were refused, as it probably would be, the refusal would only confirm him in his purpose.

At length, when the state of things was beyond the possibility of doubt, Davoust assembled the troops, acquainted them with the dethronement of the emperor, hoisted the white flag, and sent his adhesion to the provisional government. Then all thought of their personal safety, without losing sight of their honestly-acquired wealth. Diamonds, and other objects of value and small bulk, were hastily collected and packed up. The governor of Hamburg, Count Hogendorff, who, in spite of some signal instances of opposition, had too often co-operated in severe and vexatious measures, was the first to quit the city. He was, indeed, hurried off by Davoust, because he had mounted the orange cockade, and wished to take his Dutch troops away with him. After consigning the command to General Gerard, Davoust quitted Hamburg, and arrived at Paris on the 18th of June.

I have left Napoleon at Fontainebleau. The period of his departure for Elba was near at hand : it was fixed for the 17th of April. On that day Maubreuil, a man who has become unfortunately celebrated, presented himself at the post-office, and asked to speak with me. He showed me some written orders, signed by General Sacken, the commander of the Russian troops in Paris, and by Baron Brockenhausen, chief of the staff. These orders set forth that Maubreuil was intrusted with an important mission, for the execution of which he was authorized to demand the assistance of the Russian troops ; and the commanders of those men were enjoined to place at his disposal as many troops as he might apply for. Maubreuil was also the bearer of similar orders from General Dupont, the war minister, and from M. Anglès, the provisional commissary-general of the police, who directed all the other commissaries to obey the orders they might receive from Maubreuil. On seeing these documents, of the authenticity

of which there was no doubt, I immediately ordered the different postmasters to provide Maubreuil promptly with any number of horses he might require. Some days after, I was informed that the object of Maubreuil's mission was to assassinate Napoleon. It may readily be imagined what was my astonishment on hearing this, after I had seen the signature of the commander of the Russian forces, and knowing, as I did, the intentions of the Emperor Alexander. The fact is, I did not, and never can believe, that such was the intention of Maubreuil. This man has been accused of having carried off the jewels of the Queen of Westphalia.

Napoleon having consented to proceed to the island of Elba, conformably with the treaty he had ratified on the 13th, requested to be accompanied to the place of embarkation by a commissioner from each of the allied powers. Count Schuwaloff was appointed by Russia, Colonel Neil Campbell by England, General Kohler by Austria, and Count Waldburg-Truchess by Prussia. On the 16th, the four commissioners came for the first time to Fontainebleau, where the emperor, who was still attended by Generals Drouot and Bertrand, gave to each a private audience on the following day.

Though Napoleon received with coldness the commissioners whom he had himself solicited, yet that coldness was far from being manifested in an equal degree to all. He who experienced the best reception was Colonel Campbell, apparently because his person exhibited traces of wounds. Napoleon asked him in what battles he had received them, and on what occasions he had been invested with the orders he wore. He next questioned him as to the place of his birth, and Colonel Campbell having answered that he was a Scotchman, Napoleon congratulated him on being the countryman of Ossian, his favourite author, with whose poetry, however, he was only acquainted through the medium of wretched translations. On this first audience Napoleon said to the Colonel, "I have cordially hated the English. I have made war against you by every possible means, but I esteem your nation. I am convinced that there is more generosity in your government than in any other. I should like to be conveyed from Toulon to Elba by an English frigate.\*"

The Austrian and Russian commissioners were received

\* Colonel Campbell wrote to Lord Castlereagh to acquaint him with Napoleon's wish, to which his lordship acceded.

coolly, but without any marked indications of displeasure. It was not so with the Prussian commissioner, to whom he said drily, "Are there any Prussians in my escort?"—"No, Sire."—"Then why do you take the trouble to accompany me?"—"Sire, it is not a trouble, but an honour."—"These are mere words; you have nothing to do here."—"Sire, I could not possibly decline the honourable mission with which the King my master has intrusted me." At these words Napoleon turned his back on Count Truchess.

The commissioners expected that Napoleon would be ready to set out without delay; but they were deceived. He asked for a sight of the itinerary of his route, and wished to make some alterations in it. The commissioners were reluctant to oppose his wish; for they had been instructed to treat him with all the respect and etiquette due to a sovereign. They therefore suspended the departure; and, as they could not take upon themselves to acquiesce in the changes wished for by the emperor, they applied for fresh orders. On the night of the 19th they received these orders, authorizing them to travel by any road the emperor might prefer. The departure was then definitively fixed for the 20th.

Accordingly, at ten on the morning of the 20th, the carriages were in readiness, and the imperial guard was drawn up in the grand court of the palace of Fontainebleau, called the Court of the White Horse. All the population of the town and the neighbouring villages thronged round the palace. Napoleon sent for General Kohler, and said to him, "I have reflected on what I ought to do, and I am determined not to depart. The Allies are not faithful to their engagements with me. I can, therefore, revoke my abdication, which was only conditional. More than a thousand addresses were delivered to me last night. I am conjured to resume the reins of government. I renounced my rights to the crown only to avert the horrors of a civil war, having never had any other object in view than the glory and happiness of France. But, seeing, as I now do, the dissatisfaction inspired by the measures of the new government, I can explain to my guard the reasons which induce me to revoke my abdication. It is true, that the number of the troops on which I can count will scarcely exceed thirty thousand men; but it will be easy for me to increase their numbers to a hundred and thirty thousand. Know, then, that I can also, without compromising my honour, say to my guard, that having nothing but the repose and happiness of the country at heart, I renounce all my rights, and ex-

hort my troops to follow my example and yield to the wish of the nation." I heard these words reported by General Kohler himself, after his return from his mission. He did not disguise the embarrassment which this unexpected address had occasioned; and I recollect having remarked at the time, that had Bonaparte, at the commencement of the campaign of Paris, renounced his rights, and returned to the rank of citizen, the immense masses of the allies must have yielded to the efforts of France. General Kohler also stated, that Napoleon complained of Maria Louisa not being allowed to accompany him; but at length, yielding to the reasons urged by those about him, he added, "Well, I prefer remaining faithful to my promise; but, if I have any new ground of complaint, I will free myself from all my engagements."

At eleven o'clock, Count de Bussy, one of the emperor's aides-de-camp, was sent by the grand marshal to announce that all was ready for departure. "Am I," said Napoleon, "to regulate my actions by the grand marshal's watch? I will go when I please..... Perhaps I may not go at all. .... Leave me."

All the forms of courtly etiquette which Napoleon loved so much were observed, and when at length he was pleased to leave his cabinet to enter the saloon, where the commissioners were waiting, the doors were thrown open as usual, and the "Emperor" was announced; but no sooner was the word uttered than he turned back again. However, he soon reappeared. He rapidly crossed the gallery, and descended the staircase; and at twelve o'clock precisely, he stood at the head of his guard, as if at a review in the court of the Tuileries in the brilliant days of the consulate and the empire. Then took place a really moving scene — Napoleon's farewell to his soldiers. Of this I may abstain from entering into any details, since they are known every where and by every body; but I may subjoin the emperor's last address to his old companions in arms, because it belongs to history. This address was pronounced in a voice as firm and sonorous as that in which Bonaparte used to harangue his troops in the days of his triumphs. It was as follows:

"Soldiers of my old guard, I bid you farewell. For twenty years I have constantly accompanied you on the road to honour and glory. In these latter times, as in the days of our prosperity, you have invariably been models of courage and fidelity. With men such as you our cause could not be lost, but the war would have been interminable; it would have been civil war,





6. avril 1814.

Les puissances alliées ayant

rejeté le déclin en

puissance alliée  
avec une confiance

puissance alliée

de la vie

6. Avril 1814.

Les puissances alliées ayant proclamé qu'il  
fidèle à son serment, déclare qu'il rend  
celui de la vie, qu'il ne soit prêt à faire

Pierre Turdieu

perceur,

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and that would have entailed deeper misfortunes on France. I have sacrificed all my interests to those of the country. I go; but you, my friends, will continue to serve France. Her happiness was my only thought. It will still be the object of my wishes. Do not regret my fate: if I have consented to survive, it is to serve your glory. I intend to write the history of the great achievements we have performed together. Adieu, my friends. Would I could press you all to my heart." Napoleon then ordered the eagles to be brought, and having embraced them, he added, "I embrace you all in the person of your general. Adieu, soldiers! Be always gallant and good."

Napoleon's parting words to his soldiers were: "Adieu my friends. My wishes will always accompany you. Do not forget me." He then stepped into his carriage, accompanied by Bertrand.

During the first day, cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" resounded along the road, and Napoleon, resorting to his usual dissimulation, censured the disloyalty of the people to their legitimate sovereign, which he did with ill-disguised irony. The guard accompanied him as far as Briare. At that place Napoleon invited Colonel Campbell to break fast with him. He conversed on the last war in Spain, and spoke in complimentary terms of the English nation and the military talents of Wellington. Yet by that time he must have heard of the battle of Toulouse.

On the night of the 21st Napoleon slept at Nevers, where he was received by the acclamations of the people, who here, as in several other towns, mingled their cries in favour of their late sovereign, with imprecations against the commissioners of the allies. He left Nevers at six, on the morning of the 22d. Napoleon was now no longer escorted by the guards, who were succeeded by a corps of Cossacks: the cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" accordingly ceased, and he had the mortification to hear in its stead, "Vivent les Alliés!" However, I have been informed, that at Lyons, through which the emperor passed on the 23d, at eleven at night, the cry of "Vive l'Empereur!" was still echoed among the groups who assembled before the post-office during the change of horses.

Augereau, who was still a republican, though he received the title of Duke de Castiglione from Napoleon, had always been among the discontented. On the downfall of the emperor, he was one of that considerable number of persons who turned royalists not out of love for the Bourbons, but out of hatred to Bonaparte. He held a command in the south when he heard of the forfeiture of Napoleon pronounced by the senate, and

he was one of the first to send his recognition to the provisional government. Augereau, who, like all uneducated men, went to extremes in every thing, had published under his name a proclamation extravagantly violent, and even insulting to the emperor. Whether Napoleon was aware of this proclamation I cannot pretend to say, but he affected ignorance of the matter if he was informed of it; for on the 24th, having met Augereau at a little distance from Valence, he stopped his carriage, and immediately alighted. Augereau did the same, and they cordially embraced in the presence of the commissioners. It was remarked, that in saluting, Napoleon took off his hat and Augereau kept on his. "Where are you going?" said the emperor; "to court?"—"No; I am going to Lyons."—"You have behaved very badly to me." Augereau, finding that the emperor addressed him in the second person singular, adopted the same familiarity, so they conversed as they were accustomed to do when they were both generals in Italy. "Of what do you complain?" said he. "Has not your insatiable ambition brought us to this? Have you not sacrificed every thing to that ambition, even the happiness of France. I care no more for the Bourbons than for you. All I care for is the country." Upon this Napoleon turned sharply away from the marshal, lifted his hat to him, and then stepped into his carriage. The commissioners, and all the persons in Napoleon's suite, were indignant at seeing Augereau stand in the road still covered, with his hands behind his back, and instead of bowing, merely making a disdainful salutation to Napoleon with his hand.

At Valence, Napoleon, for the first time, saw French soldiers with the white cockade in their caps. They belonged to Augereau's corps. At Orange the air resounded with cries of "Vive le Roi!" Here the gaiety, real or feigned, which Napoleon had hitherto evinced, began to forsake him.

Had the emperor arrived at Avignon three hours later than he did, there is no doubt that he would have been massacred. He did not change horses at Avignon, through which he passed at five in the morning, but at Saint Andiol, where he arrived at six. The emperor, who was fatigued with sitting in the carriage, alighted with Colonel Campbell and General Bertrand, and walked with them up the first hill. His valet-de-chambre, who was also walking a little distance in advance, met one of the post-office couriers, who said to him, "Those are the emperor's carriages coming this way?"—"No, they are the equipages of the allies."—"I say they are the empe-

ror's carriages. I am an old soldier. I served in the campaign of Egypt, and I will save the life of my general."—"I tell you again they are not the emperor's carriages."—"Do not attempt to deceive me: I have just passed through Orgon, where the emperor has been hanged in effigy. The wretches erected a scaffold, and hanged a figure dressed in a French uniform, covered with blood. Perhaps I may get myself into difficulty by this confidence, but no matter. You profit by it." The courier then set off at full gallop. The valet-de-chambre took General Drouot apart, and told him what he had heard. Drouot communicated the circumstance to General Bertrand, who himself related it to the emperor, in the presence of the commissioners. The latter, justly indignant, held a sort of council on the highway, and it was determined that the emperor should go forward without his retinue. The valet-de-chambre was asked whether he had any clothes in the carriage. He produced a long blue cloak and a round hat. It was proposed to put a white cockade in the hat, but to this Napoleon would not consent. He went forward in the style of a courier, with Amaudru, one of the two outriders who had escorted his carriage, and brushed through Orgon. When the allied commissioners arrived there, the assembled population were uttering exclamations of "Down with the Corsican! Down with the brigand!" The mayor of Orgon, the same man whom I had seen almost on his knees to General Bonaparte on his return from Egypt, addressed himself to Pelard, the emperor's valet-de-chambre, and said, "Do you follow that rascal!"—"No," replied Pelard, "I am attached to the commissioners of the allied powers."—"Ah! that is well! I should like to hang the villain with my own hands. If you knew, Sir, how the scoundrel has deceived us! It was I who received him on his return from Egypt. We wished to take his horses out, and draw his carriage. I should like to avenge myself now for the honours I rendered him at that time."

The crowd augmented, and continued to vociferate with a degree of fury which may be imagined by those who have heard the inhabitants of the south manifest, by cries, their joy or their hatred. Some more violent than the rest, wished to force Napoleon's coachman to cry "Vive le Roi!" He courageously refused, though threatened with the stroke of a sabre; when, fortunately, the carriage being ready to start, he whipped the horses, and set off at full gallop. The commissioners would not breakfast at Orgon; they paid for what had

been prepared, and took some refreshments away with them. The carriages did not overtake the emperor until they came to La Calade, where he had arrived a quarter of an hour before with Amaudru. They found him standing by the fire in the kitchen of the inn, talking with the landlady. She had asked him whether the tyrant was soon to pass that way? "Ah! Sir," said she, "it is all nonsense to say we have got rid of him. I always have said, and always will say, that we shall never be sure of being done with him until he be laid at the bottom of a well, covered over with stones. I wish we had him safe in the well in our yard. You see, Sir, the Directory sent him to Egypt to get rid of him; but he came back again! And he will come back again, you may be sure of that, Sir, unless"..... Here the good woman, having finished skimming her pot, looked up, and perceived that all the party were standing uncovered except the individual to whom she had been speaking. She was confounded; and the embarrassment she experienced at having spoken so ill of the emperor to the emperor himself, banished all her anger, and she lavished every mark of attention and respect on Napoleon and his retinue. A messenger was immediately sent to Aix to purchase ribbons for making white cockades. All the carriages were brought into the courtyard of the inn, and the gate was closed; the landlady informed Napoleon that it would not be prudent for him to venture on passing through Aix, where a population of more than twenty thousand were waiting to stone him.

Meanwhile dinner was served, and Napoleon sat down to table. He admirably disguised the agitation which he could not fail to experience, and I have been assured by some of the individuals who were present on that remarkable occasion, that he never made himself more agreeable. His conversation which was enriched by the resources of his memory and his imagination, charmed every one, and he remarked, with an air of indifference which was, perhaps, affected, "I believe the new French government has a design on my life."

The commissioners, informed of what was going on at Aix, proposed sending to the mayor an order for closing the gates, and adopting measures for securing the public tranquillity. About fifty individuals had assembled round the inn, and one among them offered to carry a letter to the mayor of Aix. The commissioners accepted his services, and in their letter informed the mayor that if the gates of the town were not closed within an hour, they would advance with two regiments of

hulans, and six pieces of artillery, and would fire upon all who might oppose them. This threat had the desired effect; and the mayor returned for answer, that the gates should be closed, and that he would take upon himself the responsibility of every thing which might happen.

The danger which threatened the emperor at Aix was thus averted; but there was another to be braved. During the seven or eight hours he passed at La Calade, a considerable number of people had gathered round the inn, and manifested every disposition to proceed to some excess. Most of them had in their hands five-franc pieces, in order to recognise the emperor by his likeness on the coin. Napoleon, who had passed two nights without sleep, was in a little room adjoining the kitchen, where he had fallen into a slumber, reclining on the shoulder of his *valet-de-chambre*. In a moment of dejection he had said, "I now renounce the political world for ever. I shall henceforth feel no interest about any thing that may happen. . . . . At Porto-Ferrajo I may be happy . . . . . more happy than I have ever been! . . . . . No! . . . . . if the crown of Europe were now offered to me, I would not accept it. . . . . I will devote myself to science. . . . . I was right never to esteem mankind! . . . . . But France . . . . . and the French people . . . . . what ingratitude! . . . . . I am disgusted with ambition, and I wish to rule no longer!"

When the moment for departure arrived, it was proposed that he should put on the great coat and fur cap of General Kohler, and that he should go into the carriage of the Austrian commissioner. The emperor, thus disguised, left the inn of La Calade, passing between two lines of spectators. On turning the walls of Aix, Napoleon had again the mortification to hear the cries of "Down with the tyrant! Down with Nicolas!" and these vociferations resounded at the distance of a quarter of a league from the town.

Bonaparte, dispirited by these manifestations of hatred, said, in a tone of mingled grief and contempt, "These Provençals are the same furious brawlers as they used to be. They committed frightful massacres at the commencement of the revolution. Eighteen years ago I came to this part of the country with some thousand men to deliver two royalists, who were to be hanged. Their crime was, having worn the white cockade. I saved them; but it was not without difficulty that I rescued them from the hands of their assailants; and now, you see, they resume the same excesses against those who refuse to wear the

white cockade." At about a league from Aix, the emperor and his retinue found horses and an escort of gendarmerie to conduct them to the castle of Luc.

The Princess Pauline was at the country residence of M. Charles, member of the legislative body, near the castle of Luc. On hearing of the misfortunes of her brother, she determined to accompany him to the isle of Elba, and she proceeded to Frejus to embark with him. At Frejus the emperor rejoined Colonel Campbell, who had quitted the convoy on the road, and had brought into the port the English frigate, the *Indomptable*, which was destined to convey the emperor to the place of his destination. In spite of the wish he had expressed to Colonel Campbell, he manifested considerable reluctance to go on board the *Indomptable*. However, on the 28th of April, he sailed for the island of Elba on board that frigate, in which it could not then be said that Cæsar and his fortune were embarked.



## CHAPTER XXXIX.

Changes produced by time—Correspondence between the provisional government and Hartwell—Louis XVIII.'s reception in London—His arrival at Calais—Berthier's address to the king at Compiègne—My presentation to his majesty at Saint-Ouen—Louis XVIII.'s entry into Paris—Unexpected dismissal from my post—M. de Talleyrand's departure for the congress of Vienna—Signs of a commotion—Impossibility of seeing M. de Blacas—The Abbé Fleuriet—Unanswered letters—My letter to M. de Talleyrand at Vienna.

THE force of the changes produced by time is the most irresistible of all powers. Wise policy consists in directing that power; but to do so it is requisite to know the wants of the age. For this reason Louis XVIII. appeared, in the eyes of all sensible persons, a monarch expressly formed for the circumstances in which we stood after the fall of Napoleon.

In the winter of 1813-14, some royalist proclamations had been circulated in Paris; and as they contained the germs of those hopes which the charter, had it been executed, was calculated to realize, the police opposed their circulation, and I recollect that in order to multiply the number of copies, my family and I daily devoted some hours to transcribing them. After the definitive declaration of Alexander, a very active correspondence ensued between the provisional government and Hartwell; and Louis XVIII. was even preparing to embark for Bordeaux when he learned the events of the 31st of March. That news induced the king to alter his determination, and he soon quitted his retirement to proceed to London. Louis XVIII. and the Prince Regent of England exchanged the orders of the Holy Ghost and the Garter, and I believe I may affirm that this was the first occasion on which any but a Catholic prince was invested with the order of the Holy Ghost.

Louis XVIII. embarked at Dover on board the Royal

Sovereign, and landed at Calais on the 24th of April. I need not enter into any description of the enthusiasm which his presence excited; that is generally known through the reports of the journals of the time. It is very certain that all rational persons saw with satisfaction the princes of the house of Bourbon reascend the throne of their ancestors, enlightened by experience and misfortune, which, as some ancient philosopher observes, are the best counsellors of kings.

I had received a letter addressed to me from London by the Duke de Duras, pointing out the route which Louis XVIII. was to pursue from Calais to Paris. The king's wishes on this subject were scrupulously fulfilled, and I recollect with pleasure the zeal with which my directions were executed by all the persons in the service of the post-office. His majesty stopped for a short time at Amiens, and then proceeded to Compiègne, where the ministers and marshals had previously arrived to present to him their homage and the assurance of their fidelity. Berthier addressed the king in the name of the marshals, and said, among other things, "that France, groaning for five-and-twenty years under the weight of the misfortunes that oppressed her, had anxiously looked forward to the happy day which she now saw dawning." Berthier might justly have said for "ten years;" but at all events, even had he spoken the truth, it was ill placed in the mouth of a man whom the emperor had constantly loaded with favours. The Emperor Alexander also went to Compiègne to meet Louis XVIII., and the two monarchs dined together.

I did not go to Compiègne because the business which I had constantly to execute did not permit me to leave Paris for so long an interval as that journey would have required; but I was at Saint-Ouen when Louis XVIII. arrived on the 2d of May. There I had to congratulate myself on being remembered by a man to whom I was fortunate enough to render some service at Hamburg. As the king entered the saloon through which he had to pass to go to the dining-room, M. Hue, recognising me, said to his majesty, "There is M. de Bourrienne." The king then, stepping up to me, said, "Ah! M. de Bourrienne, I am very glad to see you. I am aware of the services you have rendered me in Hamburg and in Paris, and I shall feel much pleasure in testifying my gratitude."

At Saint-Ouen, Louis XVIII. promulgated the declaration which preceded the charter, and which reiterated the sentiments expressed by the king twenty years before, in the declaration of Calmar. It was also at Saint-Ouen that a project of a con-

stitution was presented to him by the senate, in which that body, to justify *in extremis* its title of conservative, stipulated for the preservation of its revenues and endowments. On the 3d of May Louis XVIII. made his solemn entry into Paris, the Duchess d'Angoulême being in the carriage with the king. His majesty proceeded first to Notre Dame. On arriving at the Pont Neuf, he saw the model of the statue of Henry IV., on the pedestal of which appeared the following words:—*Ludovico reduce, Henricus redvivus*, which were suggested by M. de Lally-Tollendal, and were greatly preferable to the long and prolix inscription composed for the bronze statue.

The king's entrance into Paris did not excite so much enthusiasm as the entrance of Monsieur. In the places through which I passed on the 3d of May, astonishment seemed to be the prevailing feeling among the people. The abatement of public enthusiasm was more perceptible a short time after, when Louis XVIII. restored the red corps which Louis XVI. had suppressed long before the revolution.

It was not a little extraordinary to see the direction of the government consigned to a man who neither had, nor could have any knowledge of France. From the commencement, M. de Blacas affected ministerial omnipotence. When I went on the 11th of May to the Tuileries to present, as usual, my portfolio to the king, in virtue of my privilege of transacting business with the sovereign, M. de Blacas wished to take the portfolio from me, which appeared to me the more surprising as, during the seven days I had the honour of coming in contact with Louis XVIII., his majesty had been pleased to bestow many compliments upon me. I at first refused to give up the portfolio; but M. de Blacas told me the king had ordered him to receive it; I then, of course, yielded the point. However, it was not long before I had experience of a courtier's revenge; for two days after this circumstance, that is to say, on the 13th of May, on entering my cabinet at the usual hour, I mechanically took up the *Moniteur*, which I found lying on my desk. On glancing hastily over it, what was my astonishment to find that the Count de Ferrand had been appointed director of the post-office in my stead. Such was the strange mode in which M. de Blacas made me feel the promised gratitude of the sovereign. Certainly, after my proofs of loyalty which, a year afterwards, procured for me the honour of being outlawed in quite a privileged way, I had reason to complain, and I might have said *Sic vos non vobis* as justly as Virgil, when he alluded

to the unmerited favours lavished by Augustus on the Mævii and Bavii of his time.

The measures of government soon excited complaints in every quarter. The usages of the old system were gradually restored, and ridicule being mingled with more serious considerations, Paris was speedily inundated with caricatures and pamphlets. However, tranquillity prevailed until the month of September, when M. de Talleyrand departed for the congress of Vienna. Then all was disorder at the Tuileries. Every one feeling himself free from restraint, wished to play the statesman, and Heaven knows how many follies were committed in the absence of the schoolmaster.

Under a feeble government, there is but one step from discontent to insurrection: under an imbecile government like that of France in 1814, after the departure of M. de Talleyrand, conspiracy has free scope. During the summer of 1814 were prepared the events which reached their climax on the 20th of March, 1815. I almost fancy I am dreaming, when I look back on the miraculous incapacity of the persons who were then at the head of our government. The emigrants, who, as it has been truly said, had neither learned nor forgotten any thing, came back with all the absurd pretensions of Coblenz. Their silly vanity reminded one of a character in one of Voltaire's novels, who is continually saying, "*Un homme comme moi !*" These people were so engrossed with their pretended merit, that they were blind to every thing else. They not only disregarded the wishes and the wants of France, which, in overthrowing the empire, hoped to regain liberty, but they disregarded every warning they had received. I recollect one circumstance which was well calculated to excite suspicion. Prince Eugène proposed going to the waters of Plombières to join his sister Hortense. The horses, the carriages, and one of the prince's aides-de-camp had already arrived at Plombières, and his residence was prepared; but he did not go. Eugène had, no doubt, received intimation of his sister's intrigues with some of the individuals of the late court of Napoleon, who were then at the waters; and as he had determined to reside quietly at the court of his father-in-law, without meddling with public affairs, he remained at Munich. This fact, however, passed off unnoticed.

At the end of 1814, unequivocal indications of a great catastrophe were observable. About that time a man, whom I much esteem, and with whom I have always been on terms of friendship, said to me, "You see how things are going on :

they are committing fault upon fault. . You must be convinced that such a state of things cannot last long. Between ourselves, I am of opinion that all will be over in the month of March : that month will repair the disgrace of last March. We shall then, once for all, be delivered from fanaticism and the emigrants. You see the intolerable spirit of hypocrisy that prevails, and you know that the influence of the priests is, of all things, the most hateful to the nation. We have retrograded a far way within the last eight months. I fear you will repent of having taken too active a part in affairs at the commencement of the present year. You see we have gone a very different way from what you expected. However, as I have often told you before, you had good reason to complain ; and, after all, you acted to the best of your judgment."

I did not attach much importance to this prediction of a change in the month of March. I deplored, as every one did, the inconceivable errors of Ferrand and company,\* and I hoped that the government would gradually return to those principles which were calculated to conciliate the feelings of the people. A few days after, another of my friends called on me. He had exercised important functions, and his name had appeared on a proscription list. He had claims upon the government, which was by no means favourably disposed towards him. I asked him how things were going on, and he replied, "Very well ; no opposition is made to my demands. I have no reason to complain." This reminded me of the man in the "*Lettres Persanes*," who admired the excellent order of the finances under Colbert, because his pension was promptly paid. I congratulated my friend on the justice which the government rendered to him, as well as on the justice which he rendered to the government ; and I remarked, that if the same course were adopted towards every one, all parties would speedily be conciliated. "I do not think so," said my friend. "If the government persist in its present course, it cannot possibly stand, and we shall have the emperor back again."—"That," said I, "would be a very great misfortune ; and even if such were the wish of France, it would be opposed by Europe. You, who are so devotedly attached to France, cannot be indifferent to the danger that would threaten her, if the presence of Bonaparte should bring the foreigners back again.

\* Ferrand was so incruited in old prejudices that he said one day in the presence of several persons, that the charter would have been a very good thing if it had been duly registered by the parliament of Paris.

Can you endure to think of the dismemberment of our country?"—"That they would never dare to attempt. But you and I can never agree on the question of the emperor and your Bourbons. We take a totally different view of the matter. You had cause to complain of Bonaparte: but I had only reason to be satisfied with him. But tell me, what would you do if he were to return?"—"Bonaparte return!"—"Yes."—"Upon my word, the best thing I could do would be to set off as speedily as I could, and that is certainly what I should do. I am thoroughly convinced that he would never pardon me for the part I have taken in the restoration, and I candidly confess that I should not hesitate a moment to save my life by leaving France."—"Well, you are wrong; for I am convinced, that if you would range yourself among the number of his friends, you might have whatever you wished; titles, honours, riches. Of this I could give you assurance."—"All this, I must tell you, does not tempt me. I love France as dearly as you do, and I am convinced that she can never be happy under Bonaparte. If he should return, I will go and live abroad."

This is only part of a conversation which lasted a considerable time, and, as is often the case after a long discussion, my friend retained his opinion, and I retained mine. However, this second warning, this hypothesis of the return of Bonaparte, made me reflect, and I soon received another hint, which gave additional weight to the preceding ones. An individual with whom I was well acquainted, and whom I knew from his principles and connections to be entirely devoted to the royal cause, communicated to me some extraordinary circumstances, which he said alarmed him. Among other things he said, "The day before yesterday I met Charles de Labédoyère, who, you know, is my intimate friend. I remarked that he had an air of agitation and abstraction. I invited him to come and dine with me; but he declined, alleging, as an excuse, that we should not be alone. He then asked me to go and dine with him yesterday, as he wanted to talk with me. I accepted his invitation, and we conversed a long time on political affairs and the situation of France. You know my sentiments are quite the reverse of his, so we disputed and wrangled, though we are, nevertheless, very good friends. But what alarms me is, that at parting Charles pressed my hand, saying, 'Adieu; to-morrow I set off for Grenoble. In a month you will hear something of Charles de Labédoyère.'"

These three successive communications appeared to me

very extraordinary. The two first were made to me by persons interested in the event, and the third by one who dreaded it. They all presented a striking coincidence with the intrigues at Plombières a few months before. In the month of January I determined to mention the business to M. de Blacas, who then engrossed all credit and all power, and through whose medium alone any thing could reach the sovereign. I need scarcely add, that my intention was merely to mention to him the facts, without naming the individuals from whom I obtained them. After all, however, M. de Blacas did not receive me, and I only had the honour of speaking to his secretary, who, if the fact deserve to be recorded, was an abbé named Fleuriel. This personage, who was an extraordinary specimen of impertinence and self-conceit, would have been an admirable study for a comic poet. He had all the dignity belonging to the great secretary of a great minister, and, with an air of indifference, he told me that the count was not there; but M. de Blacas was there, and I knew it.

Devoted as I was to the cause of the Bourbons, I thought it my duty to write that very day to M. de Blacas, to request an interview: I received no answer. Two days after I wrote a second letter, in which I informed M. de Blacas that I had something of the greatest importance to communicate to him: this letter remained unnoticed, like the first. Unable to account for this strange treatment, I again repaired to the Pavillon de Flore, and requested the Abbé Fleuriel to explain to me, if he could, the cause of his master's silence. "Sir," said he, "I received your two letters, and laid them before the count, I cannot tell why he has not sent you an answer; but *Monsieur le Comte* is so much engaged. . . . . *Monsieur le Comte* is so overwhelmed with business, that. . . . ."—" *Monsieur le Comte* may, perhaps, repent of it. Good morning, Sir."

I thus had personal experience of the truth of what I had often heard respecting M. de Blacas. That favourite, who succeeded Count d'Avary, enjoyed the full confidence of the king, and concentrated the sovereign power in his own cabinet. The only means of transmitting any communication to Louis XVIII. was to get it addressed to M. de Blacas by one of his most intimate friends.

Convinced as I was of the danger that threatened France, and unable to break through the blockade which M. de Blacas had formed round the person of the king, I determined to

write to M. de Talleyrand at Vienna, and acquaint him with the communications that had been made to me. M. de Talleyrand corresponded directly with the king, and I doubt not that my information at length reached the ears of his majesty. But when Louis XVIII. was informed of what was to happen, it was too late to avert the danger.



## CHAPTER XL.

Message from the Tuileries—My interview with the king—My appointment to the office of prefect of the police—Council at the Tuileries—Order for arrests—Fouché's escape—Davoust unmolested—Conversation with M. de Blacas—The intercepted letter, and time lost—Evident understanding between Murat and Napoleon—Plans laid at Elba—My departure from Paris—The postmaster of Fins—My arrival at Lille—Louis XVIII. detained an hour at the gates—His majesty obliged to leave France—My departure for Hamburg—The Duke de Berri at Brussels.

THOSE who opposed the execution of the treaty concluded with Napoleon at the time of his abdication, were guilty of a great error, for they afforded him a fair pretext for leaving the island of Elba. The details of that extraordinary enterprise are known to every one, and I shall not repeat what has been told over and over again. For my own part, as soon as I saw with what rapidity Bonaparte was marching upon Lyons, and the enthusiasm with which he was received by the troops and the people, I prepared to retire to Belgium, there to await the dénouement of this new drama. Every preparation for my departure was completed on the evening of the 13th of March, and I was ready to depart, to avoid the persecutions of which I expected I should be the object, when I received a message from the Tuileries, stating that the king desired to see me. I of course lost no time in proceeding to the palace. I went straight to M. Hue, to inquire of him why I had been sent for. He occupied the apartments in which I passed the three most laborious and anxious years of my life. M. Hue perceiving that I felt a certain degree of uneasiness at being summoned to the Tuileries at that hour of the night, hastened to inform me that the king wished to appoint me prefect of the police. He conducted me to the king's chamber, where his majesty thus addressed me: "M. de Bourrienne, can we

rely on you? I expect much from your zeal and fidelity."—"Your Majesty," replied I, "shall have no reason to complain of my betraying your confidence."—"Well, I restore the prefecture of the police, and I appoint you prefect. Do your best, M. de Bourrienne, in the discharge of your duties; I rely on you." By a singular coincidence, on the very day (the 13th of March) when I received this appointment, Napoleon, who was at Lyons, signed the decree, which excluded from the amnesty he had granted thirteen individuals, among whose names mine was inscribed. This decree confirmed me in the presentiments I had conceived as soon as I heard of the landing of Bonaparte. On returning home from the Tuileries, after receiving my appointment, a multitude of ideas crowded on my mind. At the first moment, I had been prompted only by the wish to serve the cause of the king; but I was alarmed when I came to examine the extent of the responsibility I had taken upon myself. However, I determined to meet with courage the difficulties that presented themselves, and I must say, that I had every reason to be satisfied with the manner in which I was seconded by M. Foudras, the inspector-general of the police.

Even now I am filled with astonishment, when I think of the council that was held at the Tuileries on the 13th of March. The ignorance of the members of that council respecting our situation, and their confidence in the useless measures they had adopted against Napoleon, exceed all conception. Will it be believed, that those great statesmen, who had the control of the telegraph, the post-office, the police and its agents, money, in short, every thing which constitutes power, asked me to give them information respecting the advance of Bonaparte? What could I say to them? I could only repeat the reports which were circulated on the Exchange, and those which I had collected here and there, during the last twenty-four hours. I did not conceal that the danger was imminent, and that all their precautions would be of no avail. The question then arose as to what course should be adopted by the king. It was impossible that the monarch could remain in the capital, and yet, where was he to go? One proposed that he should go to Bordeaux; another to La Vendée; and a third to Normandy; and a fourth member of the council was of opinion that the king should be conducted to Melun. I conceived that if a battle should take place any where, it would probably be in the neighbourhood of that town; but the counsellor who made this last suggestion, assured us that

the presence of the king, in an open carriage and eight horses, would produce a wonderful effect on the minds of the troops. This project was merely ridiculous; the others appeared to be dangerous and impracticable. I declared to the council, that considering the situation of things, it was necessary to renounce all idea of resistance by force of arms; that no soldier would fire a musket, and that it was madness to attempt to take any other view of things. "Defection," said I, "is inevitable. The soldiers are drinking in their barracks the money which you have been giving them, for some days past, to purchase their fidelity. They say Louis XVIII. is a very good sort of man, but *vive le petit caporal!*"

Immediately on the landing of Napoleon, the king sent an extraordinary courier to Marmont, who was at Chatillon, whither he had gone to take a last leave of his dying mother. I saw him one day after he had had an interview with the king; I think it was on the 6th or 7th of March. After some conversation on the landing of Napoleon, and the means of preventing him from reaching Paris, Marmont said to me, "This is what I dwelt most strongly upon in the interview I have just had with the king. 'Sire,' said I, 'I doubt not Bonaparte's intention of coming to Paris? and the best way to prevent him doing so, would be for your Majesty to remain here. It is necessary to secure the palace of the Tuileries against a surprise, and to prepare it for resisting a siege, in which it would be indispensable to use cannon. You must shut yourself up in your palace, with the individuals of your household, and the principal public functionaries, while the Duke d'Angoulême should go to Bordeaux, the Duke de Berri to La Vendée, and Monsieur to the Franche-Comté; but they must set off in open day, and announce that they are going to collect defenders for your Majesty.' . . . This is what I said to the king this morning, and I added, that I would answer for every thing, if my advice were followed. I am now going to direct my aide-de-camp, Colonel Fabvier, to draw up the plan of defence." I did not concur in Marmont's opinion. It is certainly probable, that, had Louis XVIII. remained in his palace, the numerous defections which took place before the 20th of March would have been checked, and some persons would not have found so ready an excuse for breaking their oaths of allegiance. There can be little doubt, too, but Bonaparte would have reflected well before he attempted the siege of the Tuileries.

Marmont supported his opinion by observing, that the ad

miration and astonishment excited by the extraordinary enterprise of Napoleon, and his rapid march to Paris, would be counterbalanced by the interest inspired by an old monarch defying his bold rival, and courageously defending his throne. While I rendered full justice to the good intentions of the Duke de Ragusa, yet I did not think that his advice could be adopted. I opposed it, as I opposed all the propositions that were made in the council relative to the different places to which the king should retire. I myself suggested Lille as being the nearest, and as presenting the greatest degree of safety, especially in the first instance.

It was after midnight when I left the council of the Tuileries. The discussion had terminated, and, without coming to any precise resolution, it was agreed that the different opinions which had been expressed should be submitted to Louis XVIII., in order that his majesty might adopt that which should appear to him the best. The king adopted my opinion, but it was not acted upon until five days after.

My appointment to the prefecture of the police was, as will be seen, a late thought of measure, almost as late, indeed, as Napoleon's proposition to send me as his minister plenipotentiary to Switzerland. In now accepting office, I was well convinced of the inutility of any effort that might be made to arrest the progress of the fast approaching and menacing events. Being introduced into the king's cabinet, his majesty asked me what I thought of the situation of affairs. "I think, Sire, that Bonaparte will be here in five or six days."—"Do you say so?"—"Yes, Sire."—"But proper measures are taken, the necessary orders given, and the marshals are faithful to me."—"Sire, I suspect no man's fidelity; but I can assure your Majesty, that, as Bonaparte has landed, he will be here within a week. I know him, and your Majesty cannot know him as well as I do; but I can venture to assure your Majesty, with the same confidence, that he will not be here six months hence. He will be hurried into acts of folly which will ruin him."—"M. de Bourrienne, I argue better of events; but if misfortune again compel me to leave France, and your second prediction be fulfilled, you may rely on me." During this short conversation, the king appeared perfectly tranquil and resigned.

Next day I again visited the Tuileries, whither I had at those perilous times frequent occasion to repair. On that day I received a list of twenty-five persons, whom I was ordered to arrest. I took the liberty to observe, that such a proceed-

ing was not only useless, but likely to produce a very injurious effect at that critical moment. The reasons I urged had not all the effect I expected. However, some relaxation as to twenty-three of the twenty-five was conceded, but it was insisted that Fouché and Davoust should be arrested without delay. The king repeatedly said, "I wish you to arrest Fouché."—"Sire, I beseech your Majesty to consider the inutility of such a measure."—"I am resolved upon Fouché's arrest. But I am sure you will miss him, for André could not catch him."

After this formal order from the king, I left the Tuileries, carrying with me the following list. I have preserved the autograph in the handwriting of M. de Blacas, and I here insert a faithful copy without even correcting the erroneous orthography of some of the names.

\*Fouché ; \*Davoust ; Le Comte, Rue de Bac, corner of the Rue de l'Université—he holds funds belonging to Fouché ; M. Guillard, counsellor, of the royal court ; Hinguerlot ; Le Maire ; Gerard ; Mejean ; Le Grand ; Etienne ; Rovigo ; Real ; Monnier ; Arnauld ; Norwins ; Bouvier-Dumolard ; Maret, absent ; Duviquet ; Patris, not here ; Lavalette, absent ; Syeyes ; Pierre Pierre ; Flao ; Excellmonce ; Jos. Thurot.

My nocturnal installation, as prefect of the police, took place some time after midnight. I had great repugnance to the arrest of Fouché, but the order having been given, there was no alternative but to obey it. I communicated the order to M. Foudras, who very coolly observed—"Since we are to arrest him you need not be afraid, we shall have him fast to-morrow." Next day, my agents repaired to the Duke of Otranto's hotel, Rue d'Artois. On showing their warrant, Fouché said—"What does this mean? Your warrant is of no force ; it is mere waste paper. It purports to come from the prefect of the police, but there is no such prefect." In my opinion, Fouché was right, for my appointment, which took place during the night, had not been legally announced. But be that as it may, on his refusal to surrender, one of my agents applied to the staff of the national guard, requesting the support, in case of need, of an armed force. General Dessolles repaired to the Tuileries, to take the king's orders on the subject. Meanwhile Fouché, who never lost his self-possession,

\* The first and the second names have in the original an asterisk prefixed, to indicate the persons whose arrest was more particularly insisted on. The words "absent," "not here," were added by me.

after talking to the police-officers who remained with him, pretended to step aside for some indispensable purpose, but the door which he opened led into a dark passage, through which he slipped, leaving my unfortunate agents groping about in the obscurity. As for himself he speedily gained the Rue Taitbout, where he stepped into a coach and drove off. This is the whole history of the notable arrest of Fouché.

As for Davoust, I felt my hands tied with respect to him. I do not mean to affect generosity, for I acknowledge the enmity I bore him; but I did not wish it to be supposed that I was acting towards him from a spirit of personal vengeance. I therefore merely ordered him to be watched. The other twenty-three were to me, in this matter, as if they had never existed; and some of them, perhaps, will only learn in reading my Memoirs, what dangerous characters they were thought to be.

On the 15th of March, after the conversation which, as I have already related, I had with Louis XVIII., I went to M. de Blacas, and repeated to him what I had stated to the king on the certainty of Bonaparte's speedy arrival in Paris. I told him that I found it necessary to devote the short time still in our power to prevent a reaction against the royalists, and to preserve public tranquillity until the departure of the royal family; and that I would protect the departure of all persons who had reasons for withdrawing themselves from the scene of the great and, perhaps, disastrous events that might ensue. "You may readily believe, Count," added I, "that considering the great interests with which I am intrusted, I am not inclined to lose valuable time in arresting the persons of whose names I have received a list. The execution of such a measure would be useless: it would lead to nothing, or rather, it would serve to irritate public feeling. My conviction of this fact has banished from me all idea of keeping under restraint for four or five days, persons, whose influence, whether real or supposed, is null, since Bonaparte is at Auxerre. Mere supervision appears to me sufficient, and to that I propose confining myself."—"The king," replied M. de Blacas, "relies on you. He knows that, though only forty-eight hours have elapsed since you entered upon your functions, you have already rendered greater services than you are, perhaps, aware of." I then asked M. de Blacas whether he had not received any intimation of Bonaparte's intended departure from the island of Elba by letters, or by secret agents. "The only positive information we received," answered the minister, "was an in-

tercepted letter, dated Elba, February 6th. It was addressed to M. ———, near Grenoble. I will show it you." M. de Blacas opened the drawer of his writing-table, and took out the letter, which he gave to me. The writer thanked his correspondent for the information he had transmitted to Elba. He was informed that every thing was ready for departure, and that the first favourable opportunity would be seized; but that it would be desirable first to receive answers to some questions contained in the letter. These questions related to the regiments which had been sent into the south, and the places of their cantonment. It was inquired whether the choice of the commanders was conformable to what had been agreed on in Paris, and whether Labédoyère was at his post. Precise answers were requested on all these points. On returning the letter to M. de Blacas, I remarked that the contents of the letter called for the adoption of some decided measures, and I asked him what had been done. He answered, "I immediately sent a copy of the letter to M. d'André, that he might give orders for arresting the individual to whom it was addressed."

Having had the opportunity of closely observing the machinery of a vigilant and active government, I was, I must confess, not a little amazed at the insufficiency of the measures adopted to defeat this well-planned conspiracy. When M. de Blacas informed me of all that had been done, I could not repress an exclamation of surprise. "Well," said he, "and what would you have done?"—"In the first place I would not have lost twenty-four hours, which were an age in such a crisis." I then explained the plan I would have adopted. "You are perhaps right, Sir," said M. de Blacas, "but what could I do? I am new here. I had not the control of the police, and I trusted to M. d'André."—"Well," said I, "Bonaparte will be here on the 20th of March." With these words I parted from M. de Blacas. I remarked a great change in him. He had lost a vast deal of that hauteur of favouritism, which rendered him so much disliked.

When I entered upon my duties in the prefecture of police, the evil was already past remedy. The incorrigible emigration required another lesson, and the momentary resurrection of the empire was inevitable. But, if Bonaparte was recalled, it was not owing to any attachment to him personally: it was not from any fidelity to the recollections of the empire. It was resolved at any price to get rid of those imbecile counsellors, who thought they might treat France like a country conquered by the

emigrants. The people, determined to straighten the curved line of M. Ferrand, and to free themselves from a government which seemed determined to trample on all that was dear to France. In this state of things, some looked upon Bonaparte as a liberator, but the greater number looked upon him as an instrument. In this last character he was viewed by the old republicans, and by a new generation, who thought they caught a glimpse of liberty in promises, and who were blind enough to believe that the idol of France would be restored by Napoleon.

In February, 1815, while every thing was preparing at Elba for the approaching departure of Napoleon, Murat applied to the court of Vienna for leave to march through the Austrian provinces of upper Italy an army directed on France. It was on the 26th of the same month that Bonaparte escaped from Elba. These two facts were necessarily connected together; for, in spite of Murat's extravagant ideas, he never could have entertained the expectation of obliging the King of France, by the mere force of arms, to acknowledge his continued possession of the throne of Naples. Since the return of Louis XVIII., the cabinet of the Tuileries had never regarded Murat in any other light than as a usurper, and I know from good authority, that the French plenipotentiaries at the congress of Vienna, were specially instructed to insist that the restoration of the throne of Naples in favour of the Bourbons of the two Sicilies, should be a consequence of the restoration of the throne of France. I also know that the proposition was firmly opposed on the part of Austria, who had always viewed with jealousy the occupation of three thrones of Europe by the single house of Bourbon.

According to information, for the authenticity of which I can vouch, the following were the plans which Napoleon conceived at Elba. Almost immediately after his arrival in France, he was to order the marshals on whom he could best rely, to defend to the utmost the entrances to the French territory and the approaches to Paris, by a pivot movement round the triple line of fortresses which gird the north and east of France. Davoust was *in petto* singled out for the defence of Paris. He was to arm the inhabitants of the suburbs, and to have, besides, twenty thousand men of the national guard at his disposal. Napoleon, not being aware of the situation of the allies, never supposed that they could concentrate their forces, and march against him so speedily as they did. He hoped to take them by surprise, and defeat their projects, by



making Murat march upon Milan, and by stirring up insurrections in Italy. The Po being once crossed, and Murat approaching the capital of Italy, Napoleon with the corps of Suchet, Brune, Grouchy and Masséna, augmented by troops sent, by forced marches, to Lyons, was to cross the Alps, and revolutionize Piedmont. There, having recruited his army and joined the Neapolitans in Milan, he was to proclaim the independence of Italy, unite the whole country under a single chief, and then march at the head of a hundred thousand men on Vienna, by the Julian Alps, across which victory had conducted him in 1797. This was not all; numerous emissaries scattered through Poland and Hungary were to foment discord, and raise the cry of liberty and independence, to alarm Russia and Austria. It must be confessed it would have been an extraordinary spectacle to see Napoleon giving liberty to Europe, in revenge for not having succeeded in enslaving her.

By means of these bold manœuvres and vast combinations, Napoleon calculated that he would have the advantage of commencing the military operations. Perhaps his genius was never more fully developed than in this vast conception. According to this plan, he was to extend his operations over a line of five hundred leagues, from Ostend to Vienna, by the Alps and Italy; to provide himself with immense resources of every kind; to prevent the Emperor of Austria from marching his troops against France, and probably force him to terminate a war, from which the hereditary provinces would have exclusively suffered. Such was the bright prospect which presented itself to Napoleon, when he stepped on board the vessel which was to convey him from Elba to France. But the mad precipitation of Murat put Europe on the alert, and the brilliant illusion vanished like a dream.

After being assured that all was tranquil, and that the royal family was secure against every danger, I myself set out at four o'clock on the morning of the 12th of March, taking the road to Lille. Nothing extraordinary occurred until I arrived at the post-office of Fins, in front of which were drawn up a great number of carriages, which had arrived before mine, and the owners of which, like myself, were impatiently waiting for horses. I soon observed that some one called the post-master aside, in a way which did not appear entirely exempt from mystery, and I acknowledge I felt some degree of alarm. I was in the room in which the travellers were waiting, and my attention was attracted by a large bill fixed against the wall. It was printed in French and Russian, and it proved to be the

order of the day which I had been fortunate enough to obtain from the Emperor Alexander to secure posthorses, &c., from the requisitions of the allied troops.

I was standing looking at the bill when the post-master came into the room, and advanced towards me:—"Sir," said he, "that is an order of the day which saved me from ruin."—"Then, surely you would not harm the man by whom it is signed."....."I know you, Sir, I recognised you immediately. I saw you in Paris, when you were director of the post-office, and you granted a just claim which I had upon you. I have now come to tell you that they are harnessing two horses to your calash, and you may set off at full speed." The worthy man had assigned to my use the only two horses at his disposal; his son performed the office of postilion, and I set off, to the no small dissatisfaction of some of the travellers who had arrived before me, and who, perhaps, had as good reasons as I to avoid the presence of Napoleon.

I arrived at Lille at eleven o'clock on the night of the 21st. Here I encountered another vexation, though not of an alarming kind. The gates of the town were closed, and I was obliged to content myself with a miserable night's lodging in the suburb.

I entered Lille on the 22d and Louis XVIII. arrived on the 23d. His majesty also found the gates closed, and more than an hour elapsed before an order could be obtained for opening them; for the Duke of Orleans, who commanded the town, was inspecting the troops when his majesty arrived. The king was perfectly well received at Lille. There indeed appeared some symptoms of defection, but it must be acknowledged that the officers of the old army had been so singularly sacrificed to the promotion of the returned emigrants, that it was very natural the former should hail the return of the man who had so often led them to victory. I put up at the Hotel de Gand, certainly without forming any prognostic respecting the future residence of the king. When I saw his majesty's retinue I went down and stood at the door of the hotel, where, as soon as Louis XVIII. perceived me, he distinguished me from among all the persons who were awaiting his arrival, and holding out his hand for me to kiss, he said, "Follow me, M. de Bourrienne."

On entering the apartments prepared for him the king expressed to me his satisfaction of my conduct since the restoration, and especially during the short interval I had discharged the functions of prefect of the police. He did me the honour

to invite me to breakfast with him. The conversation naturally turned on the events of the day, of which every one present spoke according to his hopes or fears. Observing that Louis XVIII. concurred in Berthier's discouraging view of affairs, I ventured to repeat what I had already said at the Tuileries, that judging from the disposition of the sovereigns of Europe, and the information which I had received, it appeared very probable that his majesty would be seated on his throne in three months. Berthier bit his nails as he did when he wanted to leave the army of Egypt and return to Paris to the object of his adoration. I could perceive that the king regarded my observation as one of those compliments to which he was accustomed; and that he had no great confidence in the fulfilment of my prediction. However, wishing to seem to believe it, he said what he had more than hinted before: "M. de Bourrienne, as long as I am king, you shall be my prefect of the police."

It was Louis XVIII.'s decided resolution to remain in France as long as he could; but the Napoleon fever, which spread like an epidemy among the troops, had infected the garrison of Lille. Mortier expressed to me his well-founded fears, and repeatedly recommended me to urge the king to quit Lille speedily, in order to avoid any fatal occurrence. During the two days I passed with his majesty, I entreated him to yield to the imperious circumstances in which he was placed. At length the king, with deep regret, consented to go, and I left Lille the day before that fixed for his majesty's departure.

In September, 1814, the king had appointed me chargé-d'affaires from France to Hamburg, but not having received orders to repair to my post, I have not hitherto mentioned this nomination. However, when Louis XVIII. was on the point of leaving France, he thought that my presence in Hamburg might be useful for the purpose of making him acquainted with all that might interest him in the north of Germany. But it was not there that danger was to be apprehended. There were two points to be watched: the head-quarters of Napoleon and the king's council at Ghent. I lost no time in repairing to a city where I was sure of finding a great many friends. On passing through Brussels I alighted at the Hotel de Bellevue, where the Duke de Berri arrived shortly after me. His royal highness then invited me to breakfast with him, and conversed with me very confidentially. I afterwards continued my journey.

CHAPTER XLI.

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sage to Madame de Bourrienne on the 20th of March—Napoleon's nocturnal entrance into Paris—General Berton sent to my family by Caulincourt—Recollection of old persecutions—General Driesen—Solution of an emigma—Seals placed on my effects—Useless searches—Persecution of women—Madame de Staël and Madame de Récamier—Paris during the hundred days—The federates and patriotic songs—Declaration of the plenipotentiaries at Vienna.

At Lille, and afterwards at Hamburg, I received letters from my family, which I had looked for with great impatience. They contained particulars of what had occurred relative to me since Bonaparte's return to Paris. Two hours after my departure, Madame de Bourrienne also left Paris, accompanied by her children, and proceeded to an asylum which had been offered her seven leagues from the capital. She left, at my house in Paris, her sister, two of her brothers, and her friend the Countess Neuilly, who had resided with us since her return from emigration.

On the very morning of my wife's departure, namely, the 20th of March, a man, with whom I had always been on a footing of friendship, and who was entirely devoted to Bonaparte, sent to request that Madame de Bourrienne would call on him, as he wished to speak to her on most important and urgent business. My sister-in-law informed the person who brought the message, that my wife had left Paris; but she begged a friend to accompany her, and went herself to the individual, whose name will be, probably, guessed, though I do not mention it. The person who came with the message to my house, put many questions to Madame de Bourrienne's sister respecting my absence, and advised her, above all things, to conjure me not to follow the king; he observed, that the cause of Louis XVIII. was utterly lost, and that I should do well

to retire quietly to Burgundy, as there was no doubt of my obtaining the emperor's pardon.

At nine o'clock on the same evening, which was the very hour of Bonaparte's arrival at the Tuileries, a lady, who was a friend of my family, and whose son served in the young guard, called and requested to see Madame de Bourrienne. She refused to come into the house lest she should be seen, and my sister-in-law went down to the garden to speak to her without a light. This lady's brother had been, on the preceding night, to Fontainebleau to see Bonaparte, and he had directed his sister to desire me to remain in Paris, and to retain my post in the prefecture of the police, as I was sure of a full and complete pardon.

Nothing could be more gloomy than Bonaparte's entrance into Paris. He arrived at night, in the midst of a thick fog. The streets were almost deserted, and a vague feeling of terror prevailed almost generally in the capital. On the morning of the 21st, General Berton, who has since been the victim of his mad enterprises, called at my house, and requested to speak with me and Madame de Bourrienne. He was received by my wife's sister and brothers, and he said he came from M. de Caulincourt, to renew the assurances of safety which had already been given to me. I was, I confess, very sensible to these proofs of friendship when they came to my knowledge; but I did not, for a single moment, repent the course I adopted. I could not forget the intrigues of which I had been the object since 1811, nor the continual threats of arrest which, during that year, had not left me a moment's quiet; and since I now revert to that time, I may take the opportunity of explaining how, in 1814, I was made acquainted with the real causes of the persecution to which I had been a prey. A person, whose name prudence forbids me mentioning, communicated to me the following letter, the original copy of which is in my possession:

MONSIEUR LE DUC DE BASSANO,

I send you some very important documents respecting the Sieur Bourrienne; and I beg you will make me a confidential report on this affair. Keep these documents for yourself alone. This business demands the utmost secrecy. Every thing induces me to believe that Bourrienne has carried on a series of intrigues with London. Bring me the report on Thursday. I pray God, &c.

NAPOLÉON.

Paris, December 25, 1811.

I could now clearly perceive what to me had hitherto been enveloped in obscurity; but I was not, as yet, made acquainted with the documents mentioned in Napoleon's epistle. Still, however, the cause of his animosity directed against me was an enigma, which I was unable to guess; but I obtained its solution sometime afterwards.

General Driesen, who was the governor of Mittau while Louis XVIII. resided in that town, came to Paris in 1814. I had been well acquainted with him in 1810, at Hamburg, where he lived for a considerable time. While at Mittau he conceived a chivalrous and enthusiastic friendship for the King of France. We were at first distrustful of each other; but afterwards the most intimate confidence arose between us. General Driesen looked forward with certainty to the return of the Bourbons to France; and in the course of our frequent conversations on his favourite theme, he gradually threw off all reserve, and at length disclosed to me that he was maintaining a correspondence with the king. He told me that he had sent to Hartwell several drafts for proclamations, with none of which, he said, the king was satisfied. On showing me the copy of the last of these drafts, I frankly told him, that I was quite of the king's opinion as to its unfitness. I observed, that if the king should one day return to France, and act as the general advised, he would not keep possession of his throne six months. Driesen then requested me to dictate a draft for a proclamation conformably with my ideas. This I consented to do, on one condition, viz. that he would never mention my name in connection with the business, either in writing or conversation. General Driesen promised this, and I then dictated to him a draft which I would now candidly lay before the reader if I had a copy of it. I may add, that in the different proclamations of Louis XVIII., I remarked several passages precisely corresponding with the draft I had dictated at Hamburg.

During the four years which intervened between my return to Paris and the downfall of the empire, it several times occurred to me that General Driesen had betrayed my secret; and on his very first visit to me after the restoration, our conversation happening to turn on Hamburg, I asked him whether he had not disclosed what I wished him to conceal? "Well," said he, "there is no harm in telling the truth now. After you had left Hamburg, the king wrote to me, inquiring the name of the author of the last draft I had sent him, which was very different from all that had preceded it. I did not

answer this question ; but the king having repeated it in a second letter, and having demanded an answer, I was compelled to break my promise to you ; and I put into the post-office of Gothenberg, in Sweden, a letter for the king, in which I mentioned your name."

The mystery was now revealed to me. I clearly saw what had excited in Napoleon's mind the suspicion that I was carrying on intrigues with England. I have no doubt as to the way in which the affair came to his knowledge. The king must have disclosed my name to one of those persons whose situations placed them above the suspicion of any betrayal of confidence, and thus the circumstance must have reached the ear of Bonaparte. This is not a mere hypothesis ; for I well know how promptly and faithfully Napoleon was informed of all that was said and done at Hartwell.

Having shown General Driesen Napoleon's accusatory letter, he begged that I would intrust him with it for a day or two, saying he would show it to the king at a private audience. His object was to serve me, and to excite Louis XVIII.'s interest in my behalf, by briefly relating to him the whole affair. The general came to me on leaving the Tuileries, and assured me that the king, after perusing the letter, had observed, that I might think myself very happy in not having been shot. I know not whether Napoleon was afterwards informed of the details of this affair, which certainly had no connection with any intrigues with England, and which, after all, would have been a mere peccadillo in comparison with the conduct I thought it my duty to adopt at the time of the restoration.

Meanwhile, Madame de Bourrienne informed me by an express, that seals were to be placed on the effects of all the persons included in the decree of Lyons, and consequently upon mine. As soon as my wife received information of this she quitted her retreat, and repaired to Paris to face the storm. On the 29th of March, at nine in the evening, the police-agents presented themselves at my house. Madame de Bourrienne remonstrated against the measure, and the undue hour that was chosen for its execution ; but all was in vain, and there was no alternative but to submit.

But the matter did not end with the first formalities performed by Fouché's alguazils. During the month of May, seven persons were appointed to examine my papers, and among the inquisitorial septemvirate were two men well known, and filling high situations. One of these executed

his commission, but the other, sensible of the odium attached to it, wrote to say he was unwell, and never came. The number of my inquisitors, *in domo*, was thus reduced to six. They behaved with great rudeness, and executed their mission with a rigour and severity exceedingly painful to my family. They carried their search so far as to rummage the pockets of my old clothes, and even to unrip the linings. All this was done in the hope of finding something that would compromise me in the eyes of the new master of France. But I was not to be caught in that way; and before leaving home, I had taken such precautions as to set my mind perfectly at ease.

However, those who had declared themselves strongly against Napoleon, were not the only persons who had reason to be alarmed at his return. Women even, by a system of inquisition unworthy of the emperor, but unfortunately quite in unison with his hatred of all liberty, were condemned to exile, and had cause to apprehend further severity. It is for the exclusive admirers of the chief of the empire to approve of every thing which proceeded from him, even his rigour against a defenceless sex: it is for them to laugh at the misery of a woman, and a writer of genius, condemned, without any form of trial, to the most severe punishment, short of death. For my part, I saw neither justice nor pleasantry in the exile of Madame de Chevreuse, for having had the courage (and courage was not common then, even among men) to say that she was not made to be the jailer of the Queen of Spain.\* In the communications between the illustrious exile of Coppet and the emperor, (as for example in the interview between the latter and young Baron Augustus de Staël, which I have described,) I leave the unprejudiced reader to determine on which side was the advantage of dignity of conduct and greatness of mind. On Napoleon's return from the isle of Elba, Madame de Staël was in a state of weakness, which rendered her unable to bear any sudden and violent emotion. This debilitated state of health had been produced by her flight from Coppet to Russia, immediately after the birth of the son, who was the fruit of her marriage with M. Rocca. In spite of the danger of a journey in such circumstances, she saw greater danger in staying where she was, and she set out

\* Napoleon, on being informed of this remark said, "She would like to act the part of the Duchess de Chevreuse, of the Fronde; but I will let her see that she has not to deal with a minor king." Madame de Chevreuse died of a broken heart, caused by her exile.



on her new exile. That exile was not of long duration ; but Madame de Staël never recovered from the effect of the alarm and fatigue it occasioned her.

The name of the authoress of "*Corinne*," naturally calls to mind that of the friend who was most faithful to her in misfortune, and who was not herself screened from the severity of Napoleon, by the just and universal admiration of which she was the object. In 1815, Madame Récamier did not leave Paris, to which she had returned in 1814, though her exile was not revoked. I know positively that Hortense assured her of the pleasure she would feel in receiving her, and that Madame Récamier, as an excuse for declining the perilous honour, observed, that she had determined never again to appear in the world, as long as her friends should be persecuted.

The frequent interviews between Madame Récamier and Madame de Staël were not calculated to bring Napoleon to sentiments and measures of moderation. He became more and more irritated at this friendship between two women formed for each other's society ; and, on the occasion of one of Madame de Récamier's journeys to Coppet, he informed her, through the medium of Fouché, that she was perfectly at liberty to go to Switzerland, but not to return to Paris : "Ah ! Monseigneur, a great man may be pardoned for the weakness of loving women, but not for fearing them." This was the only reply of Madame Récamier to Fouché, when she set out for Coppet.\*

I had not an opportunity of observing the aspect of Paris during that memorable period, recorded in history by the name of the hundred days ; but the letters which I received at the time, together with all that I afterwards heard, concurred in

\* The beautiful Madame Récamier, whose pure reputation stood unassailed during those stormy times in which few escaped censure, was residing with Madame de Staël, to whom she had heroically devoted herself, when one of the Prussian princes, who had been made prisoner at Eylau, and who was proceeding to Italy by Napoleon's permission, alighted at the castle of Coppet, with the intention of resting only for a few hours. Here, however, he was detained during the whole of the summer by the charms of Madame Récamier, who was voluntarily sharing the exile of her friend. This lady, and the young prince, both considered themselves as the victims of Napoleon, and their common hatred of him, whom they looked upon as their oppressor, probably engendered the interest which they mutually conceived for each other. Inspired with an ardent passion, the prince, in spite of the difficulties which his exalted rank naturally suggested, conceived the idea of marry-

assuring me that the capital never presented so melancholy a picture as during those three months. No one felt any confidence in the duration of Napoleon's second reign; and it was said, without any sort of reserve, that Fouché, while serving the cause of usurpation, would secretly betray it. The future was viewed with alarm, and the present with dissatisfaction. The sight of the federates who paraded the Fanbours and the Boulevards, vociferating, "The republic for ever!" and "Death to the royalists!" their sanguinary songs, the revolutionary airs played in our theatres, all tended to produce a fearful torpor in the public mind, and the issue of the impending events was anxiously awaited.

One of the circumstances, which, at the commencement of the hundred days, most contributed to open the eyes of those who were yet dazzled by the past glory of Napoleon, was the assurance with which he declared that the empress and his son would be restored to him, though nothing warranted that announcement. It was evident that he could not count on any ally; and in spite of the prodigious activity with which a new army was raised, those persons must have been blind indeed who could imagine the possibility of his triumphing over Europe, again armed to oppose him. I deplored the inevitable disasters which Bonaparte's bold enterprise would entail; but I had such certain information respecting the intentions of the allied powers, and the spirit which animated the plenipotentiaries at Vienna, that I could not for a moment doubt the issue of the conflict. Thus, I was not at all surprised, when I received at Hamburg the minutes of the conferences at Vienna, dated May 1815.

When the first intelligence of Bonaparte's landing was received at Vienna, it must be confessed that very little had been done at the Congress; for measures calculated to reconstruct a solid and durable order of things, could only be framed and adopted deliberately, and upon mature reflection. Louis

ing Madame Récamier. He communicated his designs to Madame de Staël, whose poetic imagination prompted her to favour a scheme that was calculated to diffuse a sort of romantic interest over Coppet. The prince was recalled to Berlin, but absence produced no change in his sentiments. He still ardently prosecuted his suit; but Madame Récamier constantly declined this unexpected elevation, either from natural generosity of feeling, or from her catholic prejudices against divorce.

"To this circumstance we are indebted for the picture of Corinne, which is accounted one of the most original creations of Gerard's pencil. The prince ordered the picture as a compliment to Madame Récamier."

—*Memorial de Sainte Hélène*, vol. vi. part VII. p. 296. (E. Ed.)

XVIII. had instructed his plenipotentiaries to defend and support the principles of justice and the law of nations, so as to secure the rights of all parties, and avert the chances of a new war. The congress was occupied with these important objects, when intelligence was received of Napoleon's departure from Elba, and his landing at the Gulf of Juan. The plenipotentiaries then signed the protocol of the conferences to which I have above alluded.

## CHAPTER XLII.

Correspondence from Vienna, Ghent, and Copenhagen—Extracts from the letters of M. de Talleyrand, Count François de Jaucourt, and the Marquis de Bonnay.

I WILL now present to the reader some extracts from official letters which I received from M. de Talleyrand at Vienna, from Count François de Jaucourt at Ghent, and from the Marquis de Bonnay at Copenhagen. The Count de Jaucourt had, in consequence of M. de Talleyrand's departure for the congress, received from the king the portfolio of foreign affairs. After I wrote to M. de Talleyrand, acquainting him with my arrival in Hamburg, I received an answer, dated Vienna, April 19, 1815, in which he informed me, that the allied troops were approaching the French frontiers with all possible speed. "In the military measures," said he, "the greatest energy and activity every where prevails. The Russian troops, who were on the Vistula, have arrived in Bohemia four days sooner than they were expected, and will reach the Rhine at the same time with the Austrian troops. It is expected that operations will commence about the middle of May, and the immense resources which have been combined, leave no doubt respecting the issue of the events. Murat, thinking that at a moment when all the powers are uniting their efforts against Bonaparte, he would experience few obstacles in Italy, has entered the legations with his army, and advanced upon the Po. But he failed in an attack upon the bridge head of Occhio Bello, and has been obliged to retire. Since then, the Austrian troops, who are daily receiving reinforcements, have gained some advantages over Murat in the direction of Modena."

In my new place of abode, I did not wish to multiply my correspondence uselessly, and having rarely any thing of importance to communicate to M. de Talleyrand, I did not often

address myself to him. In a second letter which I received from that minister, dated Vienna, March 5th, he very obligingly requested me to write oftener. In that letter he observed, "Since you received my communication of the 19th of April, you will have learned that the Duke d'Angoulême has been unable to maintain himself, as we hoped he would, in the southern provinces. France is, therefore, for the moment, entirely under the yoke of Bonaparte; but hostilities against him will not commence for some time, because it is wished to attack him simultaneously on all points, and with great masses. The most perfect concord prevails among the powers with respect to the military measures. The war is carried on against Murat with a degree of success which warrants the hope that it will not be of long duration. He has made two successive applications for an armistice, which has not been granted."

These extracts say more respecting the affairs of the time, than any reflections with which I could accompany them. Without further preamble, therefore, I lay before my readers a third letter of M. de Talleyrand, who, at the time he wrote it, was impatiently looked for at Ghent. When I urged M. de Jaucourt to send me my credentials, which I had not been able to obtain in the hurry of my departure, he wrote to me in a letter, dated the 12th of May, "We daily expect M. de Talleyrand here, and I shall not fail to remind him of your credentials." The following is the letter from M. de Talleyrand, which I have just mentioned: I need scarcely draw the reader's attention to the allusions it contains relative to those acts of the congress which I have already adverted to—

SIR,

Bonaparte, since his arrival in Paris, having first denied the authenticity of the declaration of the 13th of March, and next endeavoured to weaken its effect by different publications, some persons here have thought that it would be advisable to draw up a second. The congress submitted this question to the consideration of a committee who presented its report in the conference of the 12th instant. That report, after confirming the intentions manifested by the powers in the declaration of the 13th of March, refuting the sophisms of Bonaparte, and exposing his imposture, concludes, that his position with respect to Europe not being changed, either by the first success of his enterprise, or by his offer of ratifying the treaty of Paris, a second declaration is in no degree necessary. I have the honour to send you some copies of the minutes of the conference in which the report is literally inserted. From these documents you will perceive that Europe is not making war for the king, or on his appeal, but that she is

making war on her own account, because her interests require it, and her safety demands it. This is the course most satisfactory to Louis XVIII., and most favourable to his cause. If it were supposed in France that war was renewed solely for the interests of the king, his subjects would regard him as the author of the disasters to which the conflict may expose them. Such an opinion could have no other effect than to alienate their affections from his majesty, and to induce them to espouse the cause of Bonaparte; instead of which, on the grounds on which the war is maintained, its evil consequences must be attributed to Bonaparte alone. It is important that every one should be convinced of this truth, especially in France.

I cannot afford a better idea of what was doing at Vienna, and especially of the opinions that were formed there, than by quoting the letters of the first diplomatist of Europe, for such M. de Talleyrand undoubtedly proved himself at that difficult period. At Vienna he could not, as at Tilsit, support himself on the right of conquest: his task was to advocate the rights of the conquered, and yet he induced the allied powers to acknowledge as a principle, the legitimacy of the throne of Naples in favour of a Bourbon prince, and at the same time prevented Prussia from aggrandizing herself too far at the expense of Saxony. I soon received from M. F. de Jaucourt a letter fully explaining the instructions which the king wished to transmit to his diplomatic agents in foreign countries. As a supplement to his correspondence, M. de Jaucourt sent me the *Journal Universel*,\* which was printed under the direction of the government. In his letter, which was dated May 29, 1815, he observed, "The allied powers have no design of encroaching on the independence of the French nation; they refrain from interfering in its internal government, or even prescribing the choice of a sovereign; but all their wishes and designs go to second their ally, Louis XVIII., and his august dynasty. The restoration of the legitimate authority is the object of their efforts, as it will infallibly prove the consequence of their success."

\* M. Bertin, the elder, who gave so many proofs of his zeal in the cause of the restoration, took refuge at Brussels after the 20th of March, and was invited to Ghent to edit the official journal of the king. The first number was printed under the title of *Moniteur Universel*; but at the moment when it was about to be published, M. Bertin received orders to substitute the title of *Journal Universel*, as the government of the Netherlands dared not allow it to appear under the title of the "Official Journal of France." M. Bertin had the sole management of the paper until Louis XVIII.'s return to France.

The preceding extracts are from letters which the ancients would have called *de negotiis*; those which I shall now subjoin are somewhat more *de hominibus*. They are copied from the correspondence addressed to me by the Marquis de Bonnay, Louis XVIII.'s minister at Copenhagen, which threw considerable light on what was then going on abroad, and on the opinion entertained of some men of the time. M. de Bonnay, who was a faithful servant of the king, was well aware of the dangers which threatened the monarchy before the 20th of March.

Being informed at Hamburg of the exertions which were making at the head-quarters of the imperial diplomacy to get Bonaparte's government acknowledged abroad; and knowing that the consuls appointed by the king had received letters stamped with the eagle, I communicated these facts to M. de Bonnay, who thus replied to me: "I thank you, Sir, for your information respecting the letters, stamped with the eagle, addressed to the French consuls in the Baltic. I immediately found a pretence for recalling M. Desaugiers. I do not know whether you are acquainted with him. He is not a bad man, but he has the worst head in the world. At this moment, his horror at seeing the foreign troops enter France, has absolutely driven him mad. He wishes that Bonaparte had ended his days at Elba, or at the bottom of the sea. But since he is fairly in Paris, he would prefer seeing him reign tranquilly to the alternative of the evils with which the allied powers would visit France, under the pretence of delivering her. The king, he says, is nothing to him; but France is every thing."

While the French minister was making every effort to induce the allied powers a second time to recognise the integrity of France, Prussia betrayed views of aggrandizement at the expense of Alsace, Lorrain, and French Flanders. It is true that all these aggrandizements were not for herself; but her intention was, that those who partook of the spoil should give her an equivalent. The Marquis de Bonnay, being informed of these dispositions of Prussia, mentioned the subject to the Prussian minister at Copenhagen; and on the 9th of May he wrote a letter to me, in which he said, "The stupid Prussian minister, with whom I remonstrated against his claims upon Saxony, his pretended rights of indemnity, rights of conquest, &c., observed to me, with great simplicity, that if the right of conquest were not admitted, France must return to what she was before the treaty of Westphalia.—'Very well,' said I, 'but in that case I shall

regard you only as the representative of the petty Marquis of Brandenburg, vowing fidelity, and doing homage to the republic of Poland for the duchy of Prussia. Your old acquaintance, the Prussian minister in Hamburg, is not such a fool as ours; but I believe he is ill-disposed towards France.' "

In the same letter, the Marquis de Bonnay added, that he knew for a certainty that M. de M———, who was sent to Vienna by Fouché, had taken part in a dialogue to the following effect:

"Do not go to war with us, and we will rid you of that man."—"Well, then, rid us of him at once." . . . . .—"Would you like the King of Rome, or a regency?"—"No."—"The Duke of Orleans?"—"No."—"Well, Louis XVIII.? since it must be so. But no nobility, no priestcraft, and, above all, no Blacas."—"Begin by ridding us of Bonaparte and all his race."

In allusion to M. de Blacas, M. de Bonnay observed, "I am grieved to hear the universal outcry which is raised against a man whose ascendancy appears to be indestructible, and whose presence about the king is said to be an irremediable evil. I know the king, and I know M. de Blacas. The latter has an upright heart and pure intentions: all his faults arise from an excess of vanity and presumption; but he is devoted to the king, and his majesty will never hear reason or truth as far as he is concerned."

Bonaparte opened registers for the acceptance of his additional act to the constitution of the empire; and as he affected love of liberty, every individual was entitled to give contrary votes, and to assign his reasons for so doing. M. Florian de Kergorlay published his vote, firmly rejecting the pretended additional act, on the ground that its last article excluded the Bourbons for ever from the throne of France. That he suffered no molestation for this act of courage, was doubtless owing to Carnot, who behaved admirably on several occasions. The first step he took, on accepting the office of minister of the interior, was to despatch an order to La Vallette, who had again resumed the superintendence of the post-office, directing that the privacy of correspondence should be respected. M. de Bonnay wrote me a letter full of exultation on hearing of the protest of M. de Kergorlay.

In another letter, dated the 29th of May, M. de Bonnay again said to me—

It would appear, Sir, that at length you and I agree about



M. de Blacas. I believe I informed you that I wrote to him candidly on all that concerned him. I should certainly be sorry to distress the king uselessly ; but it appears to me, that those who attack his confidant, have observed more delicacy than they are accustomed to do in similar cases. My opinion still is, that he cannot remain in office. For if he should, I defy the king ever to form, what the English call, a solid administration.

In spite of what M. de Bonnay says in this fragment of his correspondence, I did not concur with him so perfectly as he imagined on the subject of M. de Blacas, whom I always regarded as the principal author of the evils which assailed France in 1815. Another thing which much surprised me in one of M. de Bonnay's letters was, the rather unfavourable way in which he spoke of M. de Chateaubriand. Bonaparte, who was so well able to judge of men when he was not blinded by passion, did not hesitate to declare to his friends at St. Helena, that he would have had no chance of attempting his project had M. de Chateaubriand been at the head of affairs in 1814. On that point I was always of his opinion.

I shall subjoin a few more extracts from the letters of M. de Bonnay, begging the reader to bear in mind that the opinions expressed in them are not mine, but those of a man sufficiently well-informed to represent the intelligent portion of the royalist party in 1815, though his prejudices, and the distance at which he was placed from the theatre of events, occasionally render the accuracy of his views doubtful. In June, 1815, he wrote to me thus :

You relieve me much by saying that you are sure the Duke of Orleans was sounded during his stay in Paris, and that he repelled all the advances made to him. Heaven grant that he may continue in this favourable disposition! . . . . .

Though the Journal de Gand says nothing on the subject, it appears to me evident that the proclamation of the king to the French people, which is parcelled out to us by the German journals; is authentic, and that it is the work of M. de Lally-Tollendal. It is even more verbose than the report of M. de Chateaubriand, and that is too much so. How I wish that the arrival of M. de Talleyrand would put an end to all this scribbling.

Again in June, 1815, my correspondent says—

I am pressed for time to-day, and, therefore, write you a hurried letter. If Berthier has fallen from a window, he doubt-

less threw himself out. You will ask why? You will tell me what he said to you at Brussels, but do we know what he has done since? The German journals informed us that he was under supervision, and that he wished to return to France in disguise. Are we sure that he was not compromised by some correspondence which was seized?

Copenhagen, June 17, 1815.

At length, Sir, this eternal congress is at an end. Prince Talleyrand wrote to me on the 7th, to say that he would sign the minute on the 9th, and that he would immediately set out for Ghent. He leaves the Duke d'Alberg to sign the copies.

In spite of all that the Parisian journals may say on the subject, I am convinced that the Champ de Mai has not made a single dupe in France, nor obtained one partisan for Bonaparte. It is a farce which the Parisians have witnessed so often, that they now look on and shrug their shoulders. The eleven departments which did not answer the appeal, spoke more loudly than any who were present; and if Bonaparte's speech be well analyzed, it will be found that he possesses little of the confidence which he affects.

June 20th.

The postscript of the Borsen-hall has put us on the rack, and possibly we shall not be relieved for the next eight-and-forty hours. But if in the interval no courier or estafette arrive, I shall begin to think that the affair has not been of much consequence, or at any rate, that it has not had an unfavourable termination; for bad news flies apace. I confess I do not like the idea of Bonaparte having struck the first blow. I do not like that attack in the night, which was, perhaps, a surprise: I detest those battles which are still going on at the departure of the courier—a phrase invented to conceal a defeat—in short, I shall be all anxiety until the arrival of your next letter. . . . .

This moment the arrival of a Swedish estafette has relieved all my apprehensions, by informing me of the happy issue of the attack of the 16th, which very likely commenced on the 15th. I cannot conceive how it was that the Duke of Wellington allowed himself to be taken unawares. He left Brussels on the morning of the 16th to make a reconnaissance, and calculated on returning in the evening. He must (if he took the right road) have found the battle commenced at six leagues from his own hotel. The Prince of Orange must have acquired great honour by sustaining the shock and repulsing, with great loss, as the letter says, Bonaparte and his eighty thousand men. You must excuse me for not deploring the loss of the Duke of Brunswick, who was not good for much except on the day of a battle. I hope to hear the details after to-morrow.

An officer, who left Paris on the 4th of June, and who, trusting to his memory, did not take any papers with him, gave to the Duke of Wellington all the requisite details respecting the force and distribution of the French army. According to a calculation, including all who were expected to join the army, the troops of the line amount to two hundred and twenty-seven thousand men, and the national guards to between one hundred, and one hundred and fifty thousand. The infantry is good, and in excellent condition; the cavalry poor and unclothed. The light artillery is better than might have been expected; and what is luckier than all for Bonaparte, there are five hundred pieces of artillery. The fortresses are in bad condition, and ill provisioned, with the exception of Lille, Valenciennes, and Condé, which are intrusted to the national guard and the old disbanded soldiers. I hope that some of them will soon open their gates.

It is a great thing to have foiled Bonaparte's first enterprise. He can now neither recede nor stand still. The Austrians would do well to enter without waiting for the Russians. They have not 40,000 men before them.

A letter from M. de Staël (written perhaps to the prince royal himself) dated the 2d of May, states that Bonaparte can hold out no longer, and that France is divided into two parties, one in favour of a republic (for which Benjamin Constant writes and preaches) the other in favour of the Duke of Orleans. This party is composed of all those who are too deeply stained to expect to be employed by the king.

You name my most confidential and intimate friend, when you speak of Pozzo-di-Borgo. I can answer for him as for myself. The king has not a better or a more useful servant. It is now sixteen years since he and I have been united in heart and opinion. I have constantly said that no man in Europe was better fitted to oppose and overthrow Bonaparte. Pozzo-di-Borgo is certainly not one of those who least contributed to his first fall; and I confidently hope that he will powerfully aid the second. He is one of the ablest men of the day; and I may add that he possesses a noble heart, and is incapable of compromising principles. It is sometimes useful for him to have some one by him to moderate his warmth: but this is the man we should secure, if Russia will only resign him. Be assured that to serve France is his sole ambition; and in fact he belongs to the king, since he is a Corsican.

Copenhagen, June 27, 1815.

The great events which have occurred seem to overwhelm us. We bow beneath their weight, and are unable to measure their extent, or calculate their results. It takes some time to arrange them in one's head. The news is scarcely credible; it seems, if

I may say so, too good to be true. Such are my impressions after perusing the postscript of the Borsen-hall ! Dare we believe that 15,000 prisoners, and 200 pieces of cannon have been taken ? will there not be a deduction from this ? If the next post or some welcome courier should confirm all and every thing, it is evident that Bonaparte is lost beyond redemption, and that your prophecy of the king's return in the month of August, will be fulfilled.

July 18, 1815.

Instead of waiting till August, you will have returned to Paris on the 8th of July, for I presume that you arrived in time to witness the entrance of the king. Honoured be the prophet ! I hope to receive a letter from you by next post.\*. . . . .

July 25, 1815.

How happens it that all confidential places are given away, and that I do not find your name on any list ? How happens it, on the contrary, that I find names which would seem to exclude yours ? When you have time you must give me a key to this, and many other riddles. . . . .

At what time, and in what place, was the choice of Fouché determined upon ? Who made the election ? Did it come from the heart of the king ? . . . . .

I thank you for the quotation of that sublime passage from the king's letter to Prince Talleyrand, relative to the bridge of Jena.† The French used the Prussians ill, and the Prussians are now taking their revenge. When will concord resume her sway over this earth ? When shall we see peace and justice hand in hand ? Though I dislike national hatred, yet if the French must cherish any, I would rather it should be directed against the Prussians than against any other nation of the continent.

August.

As to Brennus Blucher, and his Prussians, who are more barbarous than the ancient Gauls, our indignation against them will, I doubt not, descend to our children's children. I hope, however, that the other allies will bring them to reason, and that we shall not be forced to obtain justice for ourselves, an alternative which may cause the sacrifice of some millions of men in a few months. The foreign armies, it is true, would be exterminated ; but France would be more ravaged, more desolated, and more ruined than Spain has been after a six years' war.

\* The reader will recollect that while Louis XVIII. was at Lille, previous to his departure from France, I mentioned to his majesty my conviction that he would be restored to his throne before three months.

† The letter here alluded to is that in which Louis XVIII. expressed his determination, that if the Prussians persisted in their design of destroying the bridge of Jena, he would station himself upon it at the moment of its being blown up.

August 26, 1815.

There is a man whom you name as the Marquis de Carabas (the Duke d'Alberg). It is he who has done all, appointed every one, decided, and disposed of every thing. How happens it that Prince Talleyrand did not himself form his ministry? Why has he shown so much deference to the choice of another? Is it subjection, seduction, or indifference?

How does it happen, that since M. de Talleyrand, who sees and listens to you; who hears and reads the truth every where; and who knows that natives and foreigners agree as to the necessity of a vigorous government, capable of punishing crime, and restoring morality and good principles; how happens it, I say, that M. de Talleyrand should obstinately persevere in a system of tolerance resembling carelessness?.....I am sometimes thinking he is merely looking forward to the meeting of the chambers; and that then, if he should obtain all the support which he requires, he will adopt a different course, and perhaps himself destroy the instruments he has employed. If the royalists prove themselves calm, prudent, and sensible; if they show that their strength is in their minds, and not in their lungs, France will be at their feet, and consequently at the feet of the king; but they must not be furious and extravagant, like the brawling party of our poor right side, which has done us so much harm.\*

You tell me nothing about the army. As well as I can judge at the distance at which I am, I think a good plan has been adopted for reorganizing it. I am anxious to know whether the rebels will attempt resistance. Macdonald will deserve a statue if he extricate himself. His choice of some chiefs of division excites astonishment; but I am slow to blame men of whom I have a good opinion.

Bonaparte said of Madame that she is the only man in the family; but I hope Monsieur will prove to France and Europe that he also is a man. But he must command himself and those about him; and he must recollect that under a form of government like that which now prevails, the heir and the heirs to the throne have absolutely no part to perform. The king is the only centre; and the ministers and the king are but one. I fear the clamour of what was once called the *Œil-de-Bœuf*.

\* These heirs of the *brawling* party of the right side of the constituent assembly brought about the dissolution of the chamber in 1815. M. de Talleyrand wisely adopted a system of toleration, which, with all due deference to the knights errant of morality and good principles, was much more salutary to the restoration than a contrary system would have been.

## CHAPTER XLIII.

My departure from Hamburg—The king at Saint-Denis—Fouché appointed minister of the police—Delay of the king's entrance into Paris—Effect of that delay—Fouché's nomination due to the Duke of Wellington—Impossibility of resuming my post—Fouché's language with respect to the Bourbons—His famous postscript—Character of Fouché—Discussion respecting the two cockades—Declaration of the officers of the national guard—Manifestations of public joy repressed by Fouché—Composition of the new ministry—Kind attention of Blücher—The English at Saint Cloud—Blücher in Napoleon's cabinet—My prisoner become my protector—Blücher and the innkeeper's dog.

THE fulfilment of my prediction was now at hand ; for the result of the battle of Waterloo enabled Louis XVIII. to return to his dominions. As soon as I heard of the king's departure from Ghent, I quitted Hamburg, and travelled with all possible haste, in the hope of reaching Paris in time to witness his majesty's entrance. I arrived at Saint-Denis on the 7th of July, and, notwithstanding the intrigues that were set on foot, I found an immense number of persons assembled to meet the king. Indeed, the place was so crowded that it was with the greatest difficulty I could procure even a little garret for my lodging.

Having resumed my uniform of a captain of the national guard, I proceeded immediately to the king's palace. The saloon was filled with ladies and gentlemen who had come to congratulate the king on his return. At Saint-Denis I found my family, who, not being aware that I had left Hamburg, were much surprised to see me.

They informed me that the Parisians were all impatient for the return of the king, a fact of which I could judge by the opposition manifested to the free expression of public feeling. Paris having been declared in a state of blockade, the gates

were closed, and no one was permitted to leave the capital, particularly by the *Barrière de la Chapelle*. It is true that special permission might be obtained, and with tolerable ease, by those who wished to leave the city, but the forms to be observed for obtaining the permission, deterred the mass of the people from proceeding to Saint-Denis, which, indeed, was the sole object of the regulation. As it had been resolved to force upon the king Fouché and the tri-coloured cockade, it was deemed necessary to keep apart from his majesty all who might persuade him to resist the proposed measures. Madame de Bourrienne told me that on her arrival at Saint-Denis, she called upon M. Hue and M. Le Febvre, the king's physician, who both acquainted her with those fatal resolutions. Those gentlemen, however, assured her that the king would resolutely hold out against the tri-coloured cockade, but the nomination of the ill-omened man appeared inevitable.

Fouché minister of the police! If, like Don Juan, I had seen a statue move, I could not have been more confounded than when I heard this news. I could not credit it, until it was repeated to me by different persons. How, indeed, could I think that at the moment of a reaction the king should have intrusted the most important ministerial department to a man to whose arrest he had a hundred days before attached so much consequence; to a man, moreover, whom Bonaparte had appointed, at Lyons, to fill the same office. This was inconceivable! Thus, in less than twenty-four hours, the same man had been intrusted to execute measures the most opposite, and to serve interests the most contradictory. He was one day the minister of usurpation, and the next the minister of legitimacy! How can I express what I felt when Fouché took the oath of fidelity to Louis XVIII. when I saw the king clasp in his hands the hands of Fouché! I was standing near M. de Chateaubriand, whose feelings must have been similar to mine, to judge from a passage in his admirable work, "*La Monarchie selon la Charte*." "About nine in the evening," he says, "I was in one of the royal antechambers. All at once the door opened, and I saw the president of the council enter, leaning on the arm of the new minister.—Oh! Louis-le-Désiré! Oh! my unfortunate master! you have proved that there is no sacrifice which your people may not expect from your paternal heart!" Fouché, as will be seen, was put forward through Wellington's influence.

Fouché was resolved to have his restoration, as well as M. de Talleyrand, who had his the year before; he therefore

contrived to retard the king's entry into Paris for four days. The prudent members of the chamber of peers, who had taken no part in the king's government in 1814, were the first to declare that it was for the interest of France to hasten his majesty's entrance into Paris, in order to prevent foreigners from exercising a sort of right of conquest in a city, which was a prey to civil dissension and party influence. Blucher informed me that the way in which Fouché contrived to delay the king's return, greatly contributed to the pretensions of the foreigners, who, he confessed, were very well pleased to see the population of Paris divided in opinion, and to hear the alarming cries raised by the confederates of the Faubourgs, when the king was already at Saint-Denis.

I know for a fact, that Louis XVIII. wished to have nothing to do with Fouché, and indignantly refused to appoint him, when he was first proposed. But he had so nobly served Bonaparte during the hundred days, that it was necessary he should be rewarded. Fouché, besides, had gained the support of a powerful party among the emigrants of the Faubourg Saint Germain, and he possessed the art of rendering himself indispensable. I have heard many honest men say very seriously, that to him was due the tranquillity of Paris. Moreover, as I have just stated, Wellington was the person by whose influence in particular Fouché was made one of the counsellors of the king. After all the benefits which foreigners had conferred upon us, Fouché was, indeed, an acceptable present to France and to the king!

I was not ignorant of the Duke of Wellington's influence upon the affairs of the second restoration; but for a long time I refused to believe that his influence should have outweighed all the serious considerations opposed to such a perfect anomaly as appointing Fouché the minister of a Bourbon. But I was deceived. France and the king owed to him Fouché's introduction into the council, and I had to thank him for the impossibility of resuming a situation which I had relinquished, for the purpose of following the king into Belgium. Could I be prefect of police under a minister, whom, a short time before, I had received orders to arrest, but who eluded my agents? That was impossible. The king could not offer me the place of prefect under Fouché, and if he had I could not have accepted it. I was, therefore, right in not relying on the assurances which had been given me; but I confess, that if I had been told to guess the cause why they could not be realized, I never should have thought that cause would have been the



appointment of Fouché as a minister of the King of France. At first, therefore, I was of course quite forgotten, as is the custom of courts when a faithful subject refrains from taking part in the intrigues of the moment.

I have already frequently stated my opinion of the pretended talent of Fouché; but admitting his talent to have been as great as was supposed, that would have been an additional reason for not intrusting to him the general police of the kingdom. His principles and conduct were already sufficiently known. No one could be ignorant of the language he held respecting the Bourbons, and in which he indulged as freely after he became the minister of Louis XVIII., as when he was the minister of Bonaparte. It was universally known, that in his conversation the Bourbons were the perpetual butt for his sarcasms, that he never mentioned them but in terms of disparagement, and that he represented them as unworthy of governing France. Every body must have been aware that Fouché, in his heart, favoured a republic, where the part of president might have been assigned to him. Could any one have forgotten the famous postscript he subjoined to a letter he wrote from Lyons to his worthy friend Robespierre:—"To celebrate the fête of the republic suitably, I have ordered two hundred and fifty persons to be shot!" And to this man, the most furious enemy of the restoration of the monarchy, was consigned the task of consolidating it for the second time! But it would require another Claudian to describe this new Rufinus!

Fouché never regarded a benefit in any other light than as the means of injuring his benefactor. The king, deceived like many other persons by the reputation which Fouché's partisans had conjured up for him, was certainly not aware that Fouché had always discharged the functions of minister for his own interest, and never for the interest of the government which had the weakness to intrust him with a power always dangerous in his hands. Fouché had opinions, but he belonged to no party; and his political success is explained by the readiness with which he always served the party he knew must triumph, and which he himself overthrew in its turn. He maintained himself in favour from the days of blood and terror, until the happy time of the second restoration, only by abandoning and sacrificing those who were attached to him; and it might be said that his ruling passion was the desire of continual change. No man was ever characterized by greater levity or inconstancy of mind. In all things he looked only to himself, and to this egotism he sacrificed both subjects and

governments. Such were the secret causes of the sway exercised by Fouché during the Convention, the Directory, the Empire, the Usurpation, and after the second return of the Bourbons. Every one of those successive governments he helped to found and to destroy. Fouché's character is perfectly unique. I know no other man, who, loaded with honours, and almost escaping disgrace, has passed through so many eventful periods, and taken part in so many convulsions and revolutions.

On the 7th of July the king was told that Fouché alone could smooth the way for his entrance into Paris: that he alone could unlock the gates of the capital, and that he alone had power to control public opinion. The reception given to the king on the following day afforded an opportunity of judging of the truth of these assertions. The king's presence was the signal for a feeling of concord, which was manifested in a very decided way. I saw upon the Boulevards, and often in company with each other, persons, some of whom had resumed the white cockade, while others still retained the national colours; and harmony was not in the least disturbed by these different badges.

The question of the cockades was again discussed at Saint-Denis on the 7th of July. In the evening Marshal Masséna arrived, and was immediately introduced to the king. It was reported that the object of Masséna's interview [was to induce the king to make his entry into Paris with the national cockade. Masséna remained but a short time with the king, and his return was awaited by every one in the saloon with the greatest anxiety, excited by different causes. Several commanders of the legions of the national guard, seduced by Fouché, wished for the adoption of the tri-coloured cockade, and took no pains to conceal their opinion on that point. However, I have reason to believe that on the 7th of July, many of those who signed the following declaration, would have been glad to have withdrawn their names. The declaration which was presented to the king by Masséna, who commanded the national guard, was as follows:

The undersigned, commanders of legions, and officers of the national guard of Paris, in reply to the order of the day of the 6th of July, 1815, have the honour of declaring to Marshal Masséna, their commander-in-chief, that they will consider it a point of honour, to preserve for ever the national colours, which cannot be abandoned without danger.

They venture to affirm that their individual opinion corresponds with that of the great majority of their brethren in arms; and therefore they beg their marshal to submit this declaration to the members of the committee of the government, and to request them to give it the greatest publicity; in order to prevent the disorders which might result from any uncertainty on such a point.

I was informed that there existed among the king's counsellors a difference of opinion on the subject of this declaration, but it was at length understood that prudent considerations had prevailed, and that the king had firmly rejected the extraordinary proposition made to him. For my part I thought, and I expressed my mind to the persons around me, that it was enough that the provisional government of 1814, in neglecting Marmont's wise advice, should have committed the fault of not preserving the national colours, without our now wishing the king to commit the fault of adopting them in 1815. That which, the year before, would have been an act of good policy, would now have been nothing less than a weak concession. Fouché knew this well, and for that very reason he made himself the soul of the intrigue; for to him is to be attributed the mischievous suggestion. If I should be reproached with vilifying Fouché's memory, I only crave the reader's patience for a while. I shall presently describe a conversation I had with him, in which he manifested his hatred of the Bourbons without any reserve.

Having returned to private life solely on account of Fouché's presence in the ministry, I yielded to that consolation which is always left to the discontented. I watched the extravagance and inconsistency that were passing around me, and the new follies which were every day committed; and it must be confessed that a rich and varied picture presented itself to my observation. The king did not bring back M. de Blacas. His majesty had yielded to prudent advice; and on arriving at Mons, sent the unlucky minister as his ambassador to Naples. Vengeance was talked of, and there were some persons inconsiderate enough to wish that advantage should be taken of the presence of the foreigners, in order to make what they termed "an end of the revolution;" as if there were any other means of effecting that object, than frankly adopting whatever good the revolution had produced. The foreigners observed with satisfaction the disposition of these shallow persons; which they thought might be turned to their own advantage. The

truth is, that on the second restoration our pretended allies proved themselves our enemies.

But for them, but for their bad conduct, their insatiable exactions, but for the humiliation that was felt at seeing foreign cannon levelled in the streets of Paris, and beneath the very windows of the palace, the days which followed the 8th of July might have been considered by the royal family as the season of a festival. Every day people thronged to the garden of the Tuileries, and expressed their joy by singing and dancing under the king's windows. This ebullition of feeling might perhaps be thought absurd, but it at least bore evidence of the pleasure caused by the return of the Bourbons.

This manifestation of joy, by numbers of persons of both sexes, most of them belonging to the better classes of society, displeased Fouché, and he determined to put a stop to it. Wretches were hired to mingle with the crowd, and sprinkle corrosive liquids on the dresses of the females : some of them were even instructed to commit acts of indecency, so that all respectable persons were driven from the gardens through the fear of being injured or insulted. As it was wished to create disturbance under the very eyes of the king, and to make him doubt the reality of the sentiments so openly expressed in his favour, the agents of the police mingled the cry of "Vive l'Empereur !" with that of "Vive le Roi !" and it happened oftener than once, that the most respectable persons were arrested, and charged by Fouché's infamous agents with having uttered seditious cries. A friend of mine, whose royalist opinions were well known, and whose father had been massacred during the revolution, told me, that while walking with two ladies, he heard some individuals near him crying out "Vive l'Empereur !" This created a great disturbance. The guard advanced to the spot, and those very individuals themselves had the audacity to charge my friend with being guilty of uttering the offensive cry. In vain the bystanders asserted the falsehood of the accusation ; he was seized and dragged to the guard-house, and after being detained for some hours, he was liberated on the application of his friends.

By dint of these wretched manœuvres, Fouché triumphed. He contrived to make himself thought the only person capable of preventing the disorders of which he himself was the sole author. He got the police of the Tuileries under his control. The singing and dancing ceased, and the palace was the scene of dulness.

While the king was at Saint Denis he restored to General Desolles the command of the national guard. The general ordered the barriers to be immediately thrown open. On the day of his arrival in Paris, and not before, the king determined as a principle, that the throne should be surrounded by a privy council; the members of which were to be the princes and persons whom his majesty might appoint at a future period. The king then named his new ministry, which was thus composed:

Prince Talleyrand, peer of France, president of the council of ministers, and secretary of state for foreign affairs.

Baron Louis, minister of finance.

The Duke of Otranto, minister of the police.

Baron Pasquier, minister of justice, and keeper of the seals.

Marshal Gouvion-Saint-Cyr, war minister.

Count de Jaucourt, peer of France, minister of the marine.

The Duke de Richelieu,\* peer of France, minister of the king's household.

The portfolio of the minister of the interior, which was not immediately disposed of, was provisionally intrusted to the minister of justice. But what was most gratifying to the public, in the composition of this new ministry, was, that M. de Blacas, who had made himself so odious to every body, was superseded by M. de Richelieu, whose name revived the memory of a great minister, and who, by his excellent conduct, throughout the whole course of his career, deserves to be distinguished as a model of honour and wisdom.

General satisfaction was expressed on the appointment of Marshal Macdonald to the post of grand chancellor of the Legion of Honour, in lieu of M. de Pradt. M. de Chabrol re-

\* Some time after it was thought proper to suppress the office of minister of the king's household, and to substitute in its stead the office of intendant-general;—an arrangement which I thought better calculated for a constitutional government. M. de Richelieu's successor in this office was the Count de Pradel, a man of great ability. The office of minister of the king's household was again restored in favour of my old friend Lauriston, whose elevation did not alter his sentiments towards his old comrades. After his death, the office underwent another metamorphosis, and received again the title of intendant-general, which it still retains, and is now filled by M. de la Bouillerie, one of those men whom Bonaparte, during the consulate and afterwards, esteemed for his talents and probity. I recollect often having heard him say, speaking of M. de la Bouillerie, "He is the man to manage money matters. There is no need to revise his accounts." Bonaparte sent for him from Paris to the camp at Boulogne, to examine the accounts, and afterwards appointed him treasurer of the crown after we lost Estève, our old companion, in the Egyptian expedition.

sumed the prefecture of the Seine, which, during the hundred days, had been occupied by M. de Bondy. M. de Molé was made director-general of bridges and causeways; I was superseded in the prefecture of police by M. de Cazes, and M. Ferrand continued director-general of the post-office.

I think it was on the 10th of July that I went to Saint Cloud to pay a visit of thanks to Blucher. I had been informed, that as soon as he learned I had a house at Saint Cloud, he sent a guard to protect it. This spontaneous mark of attention was well deserving of grateful acknowledgment, especially at a time when there was so much reason to complain of the plunder practised by the Prussians.\* This visit to Blucher presented to my observation a striking instance of the instability of human greatness. I found Blucher residing like a sovereign in the palace of Saint Cloud, where I had lived so long in the intimacy of Napoleon, at a period when he dictated laws to the kings of Europe, before he was a monarch himself. In that cabinet in which Napoleon and I had passed so many busy hours, and where so many great plans had their birth, I was received by the man who had been my prisoner at Hamburg. The Prussian general immediately reminded me of the circumstance:—"Who could have foreseen," said he, "that after being your prisoner, I should become the protector of your property? You treated me well at Hamburg, and I have now an opportunity of repaying your kindness. Heaven knows what will be the result of all this! One thing, however, is certain, and that is, that the allies will now make such conditions as will banish all possibility of danger for a long time to come. The Emperor Alexander does not wish to make the French people expiate too dearly the misfortunes they have caused us. He attributes them to Napoleon, but Napoleon cannot pay the expenses of the war, and they must be paid by some one. It was all very

\* The English occupied Saint Cloud after the Prussians. My large house, that in which the children of the Count d'Artois were inoculated, was respected by them; but they occupied a small house forming part of the estate. The English officer who commanded the troops stationed a guard at the large house. One morning we were informed that the door had been broken open, and a valuable looking-glass stolen. We complained to the commanding officer, and on the affair being inquired into, it was discovered that the sentinel himself had committed the theft. The man was tried by a court-martial, and condemned to death; a circumstance which, as may naturally be supposed, was very distressing to us. Madame de Bourrienne applied to the commanding officer for the man's pardon, but could only obtain his reprieve. The regiment departed some weeks after, and we could never learn what was the fate of the criminal.

well for once; but we cannot pay the expense of coming back a second time. However," added he, "you will lose none of your territory; that is a point on which I can give you positive assurance. The Emperor Alexander has several times repeated in my presence to the king my master, 'I honour the French nation; and I am determined that it shall preserve its old limits.'"

The above are the very words which Blücher addressed to me. Profiting by the friendly sentiments he expressed towards me, I took the opportunity of mentioning the complaints that were every where made of the bad discipline of the troops under his command. "What can I do?" said he. "I cannot be present every where; but I assure you that in future and at your recommendation I will severely punish any misconduct that may come to my knowledge."

Such was the result of my visit to Blücher; but, in spite of his promises, his troops continued to commit the most revolting excesses. Thus the Prussian troops have left in the neighbourhood of Paris, recollections no less odious than those produced by the conduct of Davoust's corps in Prussia. Of this an instance now occurs to my memory which I will relate here. In the spring of 1816 as I was going to Chevreuse, I stopped at the *Petit Bicêtre* to water my horse. I seated myself for a few minutes near the door of the inn, and a large dog belonging to the inn-keeper began to bark and growl at me. His master, a respectable looking old man, exclaimed, "Be quiet, Blücher!"—"How came you to give your dog that name?" said I.—"Ah, Sir! it is the name of a villain who did a great deal of mischief here last year. There is my house; they have left scarcely any thing but the four walls. They said they came for our good; but let them come back again. . . . we will watch them and spear them like wild boars in the wood."—The poor man's house certainly exhibited traces of the most atrocious violence, and he shed tears as he related to me his disasters.

## CHAPTER XLIV.

My daughter's marriage contract—Rigid etiquette—My appointment to the presidentship of the electoral college of the Yonne—My interview with Fouché—His hatred of the Bourbons—His invective against the royal family—My audience of the king—His majesty made acquainted with my conversation with Fouché—The Duke of Otranto's disgrace—Carnot deceived by Bonaparte—My election as deputy—My colleague, M. Randot—My return to Paris—Regret caused by the sacrifice of Ney—Noble conduct of Macdonald—A drive with Rapp in the Bois de Boulogne—Rapp's interview with Bonaparte in 1815—The Duke de Berri and Rapp—My nomination to the office of minister of state—My name inscribed by the hand of Louis XVIII.—Conclusion.

BEFORE the king departed for Ghent, he had consented to sign the contract of marriage between one of my daughters and M. Massieu de Clerval, though the latter was at that time only a lieutenant in the navy. The day appointed for the signature of the contract happened to be Sunday, the 19th of March, and it may well be imagined that in the critical circumstances in which we then stood, a matter of so little importance could scarcely be thought about. In July I renewed my request to his majesty, which gave rise to serious discussions in the council of ceremonies. Lest any deviation from the laws of rigid etiquette should compromise the fate of the monarchy, it was determined that the marriage contract of a lieutenant in the navy, could be signed only at the petty levee. However, his majesty, recollecting the promise he had given me, decided that the signature should be given at the grand levee. Though all this may appear exceedingly ludicrous, yet I must confess that the triumph over etiquette was very gratifying to me.

A short time after, the king appointed me a counsellor of state, a title which I had held under Bonaparte ever since his installation at the Tuileries, though I had never fulfilled the functions of the office. In the month of August, the king



having resolved to convoke a new chamber of deputies, I was appointed president of the Electoral College of the department of the Yonne. As soon as I was informed of my nomination, I waited on M. de Talleyrand for my instructions, but he told me, that in conformity with the king's intentions, I was to receive my orders from the minister of police. I observed to M. de Talleyrand, that I must decline seeing Fouché on account of the situation in which we stood with reference to each other. "Go to him, go to him," said M. de Talleyrand, "and be assured Fouché will say nothing on the subject."

I felt great repugnance to see Fouché, and consequently I went to him quite against my inclination. I naturally expected a very cold reception. What had passed between us rendered our interview extremely delicate. I called on Fouché at nine in the morning, and found him alone, and walking in his garden. He received me as a man might be expected to receive an intimate friend whom he had not seen for a long time. On reflection I was not very much surprised at this, for I was well aware that Fouché could make his hatred yield to calculation. He said not a word about his arrest; and it may well be supposed that I did not seek to turn the conversation on that subject. I asked him whether he had any information to give me respecting the elections of the Yonne. "None at all," said he, "get yourself nominated if you can; only use your endeavours to exclude General Desfournaux. Any thing else is a matter of indifference to me."—"What is your objection to Desfournaux?"—"The ministry will not have him."

I was about to depart, when Fouché called me back, saying, "Why are you in such haste? Cannot you stay a few minutes longer?" He then began to speak of the first return of the Bourbons, and asked me how I could so easily bring myself to act in their favour. He then entered into details respecting the royal family, which I conceive it to be my duty to pass over in silence; I will, however, describe the latter part of our conversation; and in so doing I shall endeavour to give it as accurately as possible, with a due observance of that decorum which Fouché lost sight of.

To his first question I replied, that wishing to see France released from the horrors of the revolution and military despotism, I eagerly contributed my assistance in bringing about the return of the royal family, an event which I had long foreseen and wished for. "I felt a conviction," added I, "that

Louis XVIII. would acknowledge the necessity of a constitutional government, the only possible one in France; that he would guarantee true public liberty; and that, in short, he would conciliate the past and the present.”—“Do you think there is a unison of opinion among the French people on the subject of the restoration?”—“I believe the majority are favourable to it.”—“Then you are not aware that opposition to the government of the dynasty of the Bourbons was observable in all the departments during the first few months which succeeded their return? The old partisans of the republic, and the agents of Bonaparte were taking great pains to impress upon the public mind that the royal family had returned with all the superstitions of the emigration. I could show you a hundred reports, all coinciding in this particular. You must confess that all that the government has done, or attempted for a year past, proves but too well what were its intentions. Could any thing be more directly opposite to the interests and glory of the nation? The decided return to the past alarmed every one. The royalists of 1815 proved themselves to be what they were in 1789. In all the important transactions of 1814, there was a total disregard of past events, and of the progress of the age. The mad attempt was made to force a people enlightened by experience, to forget what they had learned, and to imbibe other ideas. The Bourbons determined at all hazards to retrograde, to bring every thing again into question, and to make the present decide on the past in their favour. This inexplicable conduct caused it to be said, that there was a wish to place the counter-revolution on the throne. This is still wished; but while I am here, I will oppose it with all my might. There must be an end to the grand conflict of the revolution, which is not yet terminated, after five-and-twenty years of trouble and lessons of experience. The nobility and clergy have no partisans, except in La Vendée. Scarcely one-sixth of the French people would be willing to adopt the old régime, and I assure you there is not one-fifth sincerely devoted to the legitimate authority. You seem not to be aware that in 1814, a foreign prince, the Duke of Orleans, and a regency were openly talked of; and there is no foreign prince which the constitutional party would not have received from the hands of the allied powers in preference to Louis XVIII., because they might have required, as a condition of submission, that the rights of the people should be maintained. The constitutional party made but one exclusion, and that was

the family of our old kings: certainly, you do not reckon the constitutional party among the partisans of the Bourbons?"

I was confounded to hear such language from the mouth of a minister of the king, yet I thus replied to Fouché: "I am far from approving in any way the system followed in 1814, and nobody that I know of has more loudly condemned it than myself; but permit me to say that I do not, like you, see the evils which superstition and the emigration are to bring upon France. No doubt there will be faults again: there will be men incrustated in old prejudices; but time will wear them away, and I think I can already perceive a gradual conciliation in favour of the Bourbons, the number of whose partisans increases daily. There will, of course, be stragglers in the march of civilization, as well as in the march of a triumphant army. I have long been, as you well know, one of the most decided advocates for the propagation of knowledge, and you also know the disputes I had on this subject with the first consul. But the light of knowledge must, like the light of day, be progressive: a sudden transition from darkness to light would have its danger. There are no ameliorations which I do not wish for; but I would not have them abrupt and precipitate. I am, therefore, convinced that the Bourbons, can only establish true public liberty gradually. The king is not a common man, and I am persuaded that he is as well assured as any one, that national franchises and true public liberty must, in course of time, become the strongest props of his throne. You, I confess, must be better informed than I of the state of public opinion; but those who address reports to you take their own view of affairs, and you know men well enough to be perfectly aware that they see things through the prism of their personal opinions. If the reports which you receive are accurate, our situation would be deplorable indeed. Complaints would be succeeded by threats, and threats by violence: an attempt would be made to overthrow the existing state of things, and civil war would infallably ensue. From that, Heaven preserve us!"

Fouché listened to me with considerable attention, and after a few moments' consideration, drawing his long fingers across his pale forehead, he replied, "I think you are wrong; but even if civil war should break out, there would not be, in upwards of sixty departments, more than a handful of royalists to oppose the mass of the people. The royalists would prevail in one-eighth of the departments at most, and

in the rest would be reduced to silence.”—“ From what you say, Duke, it might be inferred that you do not think the Bourbons can remain in France.”—“ I do not tell you my opinion,” said Fouché, with a significant smile. “ However,” added he, “ you may draw from my words what inferences you please. I care very little about that.”

I now broke off this extraordinary conversation, which was more strange in reality than it can appear from my description. I have been under the necessity of suppressing things, the bare recollection of which is painful to me, and which I cannot repeat. I shall only observe that it was impossible to carry indecorum of language and revolutionary cynicism further than Fouché did. The Duke of Otranto spoke of the royal family in such terms of contempt, that he appeared like a bold conspirator or a perfidious seducer rather than a minister of the king. I could almost have fancied that he was attempting to practise upon me the treachery of which Joseph Bonaparte had once made me the dupe at Fouché’s house : in short, that he was playing the part of a spy ; but knowing, as I did, his odious principles, I felt no doubt that what he said to me in his usual tone of levity was the sincere expression of his sentiments. The love of gold, which was Fouché’s insatiable passion, made him bend to power, whatever it might be.

I conceived it to be my duty to make the king acquainted with this strange conversation, and as there was now no Count de Blacas to keep truth and good advice from his majesty’s ear, I was, on my first solicitation, immediately admitted to the royal cabinet. I cautiously suppressed the most revolting details ; for, had I literally reported what Fouché said, Louis XVIII. could not, possibly, have given credit to it. The king thanked me for my communication, and I could perceive he was convinced that by longer retaining Fouché in office he would become the victim of the minister who had been so scandalously forced upon him on the 7th of July. The disgrace of the Duke of Otranto speedily followed, and I had the satisfaction of having contributed to repair one of the evils with which the Duke of Wellington visited France.

Fouché was so evidently a traitor to the cause he feigned to serve, and Bonaparte was so convinced of this, that during the hundred days, when the ministers of the king at Ghent were enumerated in the presence of Napoleon, some one said, “ But where is the minister of the police ? ”—“ Eh ! parbleu,” said Bonaparte, “ that is Fouché ? . . . . . ” It was not the same

with Carnot, in spite of the indelible stain of his vote : if he had served the king, his majesty could have depended on him, but nothing could shake the firmness of his principles in favour of liberty. I learned from a person who had the opportunity of being well informed, that he would not accept the post of minister of the interior, which was offered to him at the commencement of the hundred days, until he had a conversation with Bonaparte, to ascertain whether he had changed his principles. Carnot placed faith in the fair promises of Napoleon, who deceived him, as he had deceived others.

Soon after my audience with the king, I set off to discharge my duties in the department of the Yonne, and I obtained the honour of being elected to represent my countrymen in the chamber of deputies. My colleague was M. Randot, a man who, in very trying circumstances, had given proofs of courage by boldly manifesting his attachment to the king's government. The following are some facts which I learned, and which I circulated as speedily as possible among the electors, of whom I had the honour to be president. Bonaparte, in his way from Lyons to Paris, after his landing at the gulf of Juan, stopped at Avalon, and immediately sent for the mayor, M. Randot. He instantly obeyed the summons. On coming into Napoleon's presence, he said, "What do you want, General?" This appellation displeased Napoleon, who nevertheless put several questions to M. Randot, who was willing to oblige him as a traveller, but not to serve him as an emperor. Napoleon having given him some orders, this worthy servant of the king replied, "General, I can receive no orders from you, for I acknowledge no sovereign but the king, to whom I have sworn allegiance." Napoleon then directed M. Randot, in a tone of severity, to withdraw, and I need not add, that it was not long before he was dismissed from the mayoralty of Avalon.

The elections of the Yonne being over, I returned to Paris, where I took part in public affairs only as an amateur, while waiting for the opening of the session. I was deeply grieved to see the government resort to measures of severity to punish faults, which it would have been better policy to attribute only to the unfortunate circumstances of the times. No consideration can ever make me cease to regret the memory of Ney, who was the victim of the influence of foreigners. Their object, as Blucher intimated to me at St. Cloud, was to disable France from engaging in war for a long time to come; and they hoped to effect that object, by stirring up

between the royal government and the army of the Loire, that spirit of discord which the sacrifice of Ney could not fail to produce. I have no positive proofs of the fact; but in my opinion, Ney's life was a pledge of gratitude, which Fouché thought he must offer to the foreign influence which had made him minister.

About this time, I learned a fact which will create no surprise, as it affords another proof of the chivalrous disinterestedness of Macdonald's character. When, in 1815, several marshals claimed from the allied powers their endowments in foreign countries, Madame Moreau, to whom the king had given the rank of a marshal's widow, and who was the friend of the Duke of Tarentum, wrote, without Macdonald's knowledge, to M. de Blacas, our ambassador at Naples, begging him to endeavour to preserve for the marshal the endowment which had been given him in the kingdom of Naples. As soon as Macdonald was informed of this circumstance, he waited upon Madame Moreau, thanked her for her kind intentions, but at the same time informed her, that he should disavow all knowledge of her letter, as the request it contained was entirely averse to his principles. The marshal did, in fact, write the following letter to M. de Blacas: "I hasten to inform you, Sir, that it was not with my consent that Madame Moreau wrote to you, and I beg you will take no step that might expose me to a refusal. The King of Naples owes me no recompence for having beaten his army, revolutionized his kingdom, and forced him to retire to Sicily." Such conduct was well worthy of the man who was the last to forsake Napoleon in 1814, and the last to rejoin him, and that without the desire of accepting any appointment in 1815. M. de Blacas, who was himself much surprised at Macdonald's letter, communicated it to the King of Naples, whose answer deserves to be recorded. It was as follows: "If I had not imposed a law upon myself, to acknowledge none of the French endowments, the conduct of Marshal Macdonald would have induced me to make an exception in his favour." It is gratifying to see princes such scrupulous observers of the laws they themselves make.

About the end of August, 1815, as I was walking on the Boulevard des Capucins, I had the pleasure of meeting Rapp, whom I had not seen for a long time. He had just come out of the house of Lagrenée, the artist, who was painting his portrait. I was on foot, and Rapp's carriage was waiting, so we both stepped into it, and set off to take a drive in the Bois

de Boulogne. We had a great deal to say to each other, for we had not met since the great events of the two restorations! The reason of this was, that in 1814, I passed a part of the year at Sens, and since the transactions of March, 1815, Rapp himself had been absent from Paris. I found him perfectly resigned to his change of condition, though indulging in a few oaths against the foreigners. Rapp was not one of those generals who betrayed the king on the 20th of March. He told me that he remained at the head of the division which he commanded at Ecouen, under the orders of the Duke de Berri, and that he did not resign it to the war minister until after the king's departure.—“How did Napoleon receive you?” I inquired.—“I waited till he sent for me. You know what sort of fellow I am. I know nothing about politics; not I. I had sworn fidelity to the king. I know my duty, and I would have fought against the emperor.”—“Indeed!”—“Yes, certainly I would, and I told him so myself.”—“How! did you venture so far?”—“To be sure. I told him that my resolution was compulsory.—‘Pshaw!’ . . . replied he, angrily. ‘I knew well that you were opposed to me. If we had come to an action, I should have sought you out on the field of battle. I would have shown you the Medusa’s head. Would you have dared to fire on me?’—‘Without doubt,’ I replied.—‘Ah! Parbleu! this is too much,’ he said. ‘But your troops would not have obeyed you. They had preserved all their affection for me.’—‘What could I do?’ resumed I. ‘You abdicated, you left France, you recommended us to serve the king—and then you return! Besides, I tell you frankly, I do not augur well of what will happen. We shall have war again. France has had enough of that.’—“Upon this,” continued Rapp, “he assured me that he had other thoughts; that he had no further desire for war; that he wished to govern in peace, and devote himself solely to the happiness of his people. When I hinted opposition on the part of the foreign powers, he said that he had made alliances. He then spoke to me of the king, and I said I had been much pleased with him; indeed, the king gave me a very gratifying reception on my return from Kiow, and I see no reason why I should complain, when I was so well used. During the conversation the emperor much extolled the conduct of the Duke of Orleans. He then gave me some description of his passage from the Isle of Elba, and his journey to Paris. He complained of being accused of ambition; and observing that I looked astonished and doubtful—‘What!’ he con-

tinued, 'am I ambitious, then?' And patting his belly with both his hands, 'Can a man,' he asked, 'so fat as I, be ambitious?' I could not, for my soul, help saying, 'Ah! Sire, your majesty is surely joking.' He pretended, however, to be serious, and after a few moments, noticing my decorations, he began to banter me about the cross of Saint Louis and the cross of the Lily, which I still wore."

I asked Rapp whether all was true that had been said about the enthusiasm which was manifested along the whole of Napoleon's route from the Gulf of Juan to Paris. "Ma foi!" he replied, "I was not there any more than you; but all those who accompanied him, have assured me of the truth of the details which have been published; but I recollect having heard Bertrand say that on one occasion he was fearful for the safety of the emperor, in case any assassin should have presented himself. At Fossard, where the emperor stopped to breakfast, on his way to Paris, his escort was so fatigued as to be unable to follow, so that he was for some time almost alone on the road, until a squadron, which was in garrison at Melun, met him, and escorted him to Fontainebleau. As to any thing else, from all I have heard, the emperor was exposed to no danger."

We then began to talk of our situation, and the singular chances of our fortune. Rapp told me how, within a few days only, he had ceased to be one of the discontented; for the condition of the generals who had commanded army corps in the campaign of Waterloo, was very different in 1815 from what it had been in 1814. "I had determined," he said, "to live a quiet life, to meddle with nothing, and not even to wear my uniform. I had, therefore, since the king's return, never presented myself at court; when, a week ago, while riding on horseback two or three hundred paces from this spot,\* I saw a group of horsemen on the other side of the avenue, one of whom galloped towards me. I immediately recognised the Duke de Berri. "How, Monseigneur, is it you?" I exclaimed. "It is, my dear General; and since you will not come to us, I must come to you. Will you breakfast with me to-morrow morning?"—"Ma foi!" continued Rapp, "what could I do? The tone of kindness in which he gave this invitation quite charmed me. I went, and I was treated so well, that I shall go again. But I will ask for nothing: I only want these Prussians and English out of the way!"

\* We were then near the Barrière de l'Etoile.



I complimented Rapp on his conduct, and told him that it was impossible so loyal and honest a man as he should not, some time or other, attract the king's notice. I had the happiness to see this prediction accomplished. Since that time, I regularly saw Rapp, whenever we both happened to be in Paris, which was pretty often.

I have already mentioned that, in the month of August, the king named me counsellor of state.\* On the 19th of the following month I was appointed minister of state and member of the privy council. I may close these volumes by relating a circumstance very flattering to me, and connected with the lastmentioned nomination. The king had directed M. de Talleyrand to present to him, in his official character of president of the council of ministers, a list of the persons who might be deemed suitable as members of the privy council. The king having read the list, said to his minister, "But, M. de Talleyrand, I do not see here the names of two of our best friends, Bourrienne and Alexis de Noailles."—"Sire, I thought their nomination would seem more flattering in coming directly from your Majesty." The king then added my name to the list, and afterwards that of the Count Alexis de Noailles; so that both our names are written in Louis XVIII.'s own hand, in the original ordinance.

I have now brought to a conclusion my narrative of the extraordinary events in which I have taken part, either as a spectator or an actor, during the course of a strangely diversified life, of which nothing now remains but recollections.

\* I discharged the functions of counsellor of state until 1818, at which time an ordinance appeared, declaring those functions incompatible with the title of minister of state.

THE END.



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